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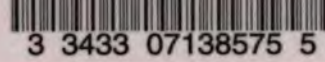
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THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

RIGHT HON. JOHN BERESFORD,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE LAST THIRTY YEARS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT;

SELECTED FROM HIS ORIGINAL PAPERS, AND EDITED,

WITH NOTES, BY HIS GRANDSON,

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM BERESFORD. (*Esq.*)

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

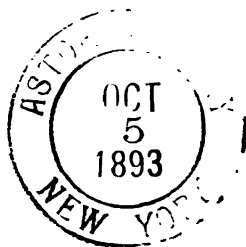
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W. A. H.
J. W. H.
J. W. H.

INTRODUCTION.

THE custom of compiling memoirs and publishing correspondences has become of late years so general, that the Editor does not deem it necessary to enter into a lengthened apology for rescuing the contents of these volumes from obscurity or oblivion, especially as he believes that they will materially tend to throw some light upon a period of much importance in the history of the Irish Parliament, of which little is known, and of which but few authentic records have been preserved. The Editor is anxious, however, to state the circumstances which induced him first to institute a search for the official papers and for the public and private letters belonging to the late Mr. Beresford, his grandfather, and to explain the motives which impelled him to undertake the inspection of them at so late a period as nearly fifty years after his death.

There appeared, in a work published this spring, 1853, and entitled the "Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.," a very imperfect and inaccurate narrative of transactions which occurred in 1795 in relation to the removal of Mr. Beresford from office by Lord Fitz-

william, when his Lordship succeeded Lord Westmoreland as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

It appeared to the Editor that, as the heir and representative of Mr. Beresford, he was in duty bound to correct the inaccuracies of that narrative, and to vindicate the character of his grandfather, which the defective version of the transaction there inserted had left, to say the least, in a dubious position. For the purpose of forwarding this object, he made inquiry for a box of papers which he recalled to mind as having seen full thirty years ago in the county of Derry, hoping to discover in it those original documents which would explain and exhibit according to fact, and in their true light, those incidents which had been so imperfectly related in the work just alluded to.

In the course of the summer, a considerable portion of the public and private papers belonging to Mr. Beresford were forwarded from Ireland to the Editor in London. On opening the box he found, to his great satisfaction, not only the correspondence which he had sought, elucidating the proceedings of 1795, and placing within his reach the means of justifying his grandfather's conduct at that time, but also a voluminous and interesting correspondence, both of an earlier and of a later date, containing much political information, extending over a lengthened period of time, and developing many incidents of some moment in the management of public affairs in Ireland during the latter portion of the last century. It soon, however, became manifest to him on examination, that in the lapse of years, and having, in all probability, been negligently

kept and ill protected, many important letters had been subtracted from the mass of papers as they had originally been left, and even whole packets of valuable documents had been either mislaid or destroyed.

Notwithstanding so damaging a diminution, there seemed sufficient remnants left to excuse the Editor for attempting to put them into some shape, for the purpose of submitting them to the criticism of those upon whose judgment he relied with confidence, and by whose opinion as to their worth he determined to be guided, whether to withhold them from general inspection, or, if considered of sufficient interest and consequence, to place them in the hands of the printer. In the first place, he arranged the whole in chronological order, and subsequently with some care he selected from them those which seemed the most adapted for the public eye, forming a diminished collection by culling all which appeared to possess general or political interest, and which tended to illustrate the history of the period to which they referred, or to throw fresh light on the motives which directed the course of events in those times.

The Editor thinks it incumbent on him to explain the means by which he has been enabled to include in the correspondence a great number of letters from several persons of different ranks and stations, not addressed to Mr. Beresford, but which materially bear upon events and arrangements in which he was deeply concerned and engaged. On examining the contents of the box, he found several bundles of letters, labelled and indorsed in the handwriting of Mr. Robinson, who was the Secretary of the Treasury during the whole of Lord North's Ad-

ministration. These letters, addressed by various correspondents in Dublin, either to the Prime Minister or to his Secretary, had been carefully laid aside by the latter, and preserved for reference in Irish affairs while he was connected with the Government. The date of the receipt, the name of the person from whom they came, the date of the answer, and the general purport of the application, are all, in the handwriting of Mr. Robinson, on the back of each letter, and the initials J. R. upon most of them.

In 1783, when Lord North formed, in conjunction with Mr. Fox, the famous Coalition Ministry, Mr. Robinson considered such a combination of antagonistic statesmen to be a direct and flagrant dereliction of principle, and he separated himself from his former friend and patron. He had long been on extremely intimate and kindly terms with Mr. Beresford—he was in the constant habit of communicating with him confidentially and freely on all Irish business, and he continued these friendly relations with him till the close of his life.

At some early period in Mr. Pitt's Administration, Mr. Robinson transferred to Mr. Beresford, for his own use and guidance, all his Irish correspondence and papers, carefully arranged and docketed, considering that the information which they contained could not be confided to better or safer hands for the public benefit, and for the promotion of that union of interests between Great Britain and Ireland which he well knew to be with Mr. Beresford the great object of policy in his administrative and parliamentary career.

Mr. Allan, whose name frequently occurs in the early

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portion of this correspondence, followed the example thus set him by his friend Mr. Robinson.

The Editor has had some difficulty in clearly ascertaining Mr. Allan's previous career, and the exact position which he filled during part of the period when he was most confidentially employed by Lord North. He was Member for Killybegs in the Irish Parliament—elected in 1768. He was a Commissioner of the Revenue Board for a short time, including the year 1773. Shortly after that he was removed to England, where he acted as Assistant Private Secretary to Lord North, and undertook, in conjunction with Mr. Robinson, to conduct the Irish official correspondence at the Treasury.

In 1778 he was appointed Commissioner of Customs in England, which office he held till 1785.

All the letters which Mr. Beresford addressed to Mr. Allan are in their original state, they have the regular post mark on them, and are initialled on the back T. A.

The greatest care has been taken to give the correspondence in its full and unbroken integrity, such as it came from the pen of the writers, though many letters bear the evident mark that they were never intended for the perusal of any beside the correspondent they were addressed to; in some cases, carelessly arranged and hastily committed to paper, they were merely designed to convey the ideas and to express the feelings of the writer to his private friend, and frequently they were the unguarded instructions of one official imparting to another information with regard to passing events, which the distance between them rendered necessary, or

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explaining the reasons for adopting some proposed scheme, and recommending the means by which it could be best accomplished. Such, however, as he has found them, the Editor has given them to the public; a few passages only being omitted, either on insignificant matter, or where the publication of them might give pain to the still surviving representative of the parties mentioned. This, however, has been necessary in but few instances, and it is only noticed as a guarantee of the general fidelity of the transcript.

The Honorable John Beresford was the second son of Marcus, Earl of Tyrone, and of Lady Catherine De la Poer, Baroness Le Poer, the heiress and representative of a long line of Barons descending in direct male succession from Roger Le Poer, a warlike knight who, in 1171, accompanied Strongbow to Ireland, and then founded the House of Curraghmore, in the county of Waterford. The name has been written De la Poer for the last three centuries, but in all earlier writs and grants extant it appears as Le Poer.

John Beresford was born 14th March, 1738. He received his early education at Kilkenny School, a seminary of which the Rev. Dr. Pack was at that time the master, and where, in those days, when the intercourse between Ireland and England was precarious and dilatory, a very great proportion of the sons of the Irish nobility and gentry were brought up. From Kilkenny he proceeded to Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated A.B. in 1757. He then entered as a student at the Temple, and resided there the greatest portion of three years, studying the law, perhaps without any fixed

intention of making it a profession, but rather with a view of qualifying himself for a parliamentary career and for public life.

Mr. Beresford was called to the bar in Hilary Term, 1760, but he never practised. In the month of November, in the same year, he married Annette Constantia de Ligondes, whose grandfather, Count de Ligondes, of Auvergne, an officer of rank in the French army, was taken prisoner at the battle of Blenheim, and during his sojourn in England married Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon.

On the decease of George II. the Irish Parliament, which then and previous to the Octennial Act, passed in 1768, was summoned for the reign of the Sovereign, died a natural death, and a general election took place, in April, 1761. Mr. Beresford was then returned Member for the county of Waterford, which constituency he continued to represent uninterruptedly till his death, a period of forty-four years. From the day that he took his seat, he applied himself with great assiduity to the discharge of his parliamentary duties, and devoted himself with much zeal to sessional business, and the details of the House, the succession at some future period to the Speaker's chair being the first object of his ambition.

In 1767, Lord Townshend as Lord-Lieutenant, accompanied by Lord Frederick Campbell as his Chief Secretary, landed at Dublin, in October, and assumed the government of Ireland. In 1768, Mr. Beresford was sworn a member of the Privy Council in that kingdom. Towards the close of the year, Lord F. Campbell, having

received a high appointment in Scotland, resigned his Irish Secretaryship, and was succeeded by Sir George Macartney.

This year the Act for restricting the duration of the Parliament of Ireland to eight years received the Royal assent, and the first Parliament of George III., called together in 1761, was dissolved, and a fresh election ensued. Mr. Beresford was returned a second time for the county of Waterford without opposition.

In March, 1770, Lord Townshend appointed Mr. Beresford Commissioner of His Majesty's Revenues. Both Customs and Excise were then managed by the same Board. From the commencement of his official career he exhibited a fixed determination to reform, as far as lay in his power, the Board of which he had become a member, and to improve the method by which the revenue had been hitherto collected, and which had been extremely lax in its regulations, and still more so in its practice.

In March, 1771, Mr. Ponsonby, the Speaker of the House of Commons, in consequence of some misunderstanding between him and the Government, resigned the chair: Mr. Beresford offered himself immediately, with a view of succeeding him in that high position.

The two preceding Speakers, Mr. Boyle and Mr. Ponsonby, had been both Commissioners of the Revenue at the time of their election, and had both retained the appointment together with the Speakership. Lord Townshend, however, considered such a junction of offices derogatory to the dignity of the chair, and incompatible with the due discharge of public business.

As, therefore, the resignation of his Commissionership of the Revenue would have been indispensable, Mr. Beresford waived his claims in favour of Mr. Pery, for whose success some solicitude existed on the part of the Government, and Mr. Pery was chosen. The *Minute* No. 2 is in the handwriting of Lord Townshend, and the reply is in that of Mr. Beresford.

In October, 1772, a severe and unexpected domestic calamity took place: Mrs. Beresford died in her ninth confinement, and left her afflicted husband with the charge of eight young children, the eldest only eleven years old.

In November of the same year, Lord Harcourt landed, and was sworn in Lord-Lieutenant, in succession to Lord Townshend, between whom and Mr. Beresford a great cordiality existed during the term of his Viceroyalty, and between whom a closer connection was afterwards cemented by their marrying two sisters.

Lord Harcourt brought over with him, as Secretary, Colonel Blaquiére, who had been Secretary of Legation when his Lordship filled the post of Ambassador at Paris.

The correspondence which has come into the possession of the Editor does not throw much light upon the history of this Viceroyalty, with the exception of the negotiation entered into with the celebrated Henry Flood, and the first appearance of his eloquent rival Henry Grattan, two statesmen whose fame as orators, and particularly that of the latter, will ever reflect a bright lustre upon the latter period of the Irish Parliament. During this Viceroyalty Mr. Beresford perse-

vered with unremitting assiduity to correct abuses in the management of the Revenue, to obtain the sanction of the Government for the erection of a new Custom House, commensurate to the enlarged business which had already arisen, and which was certain to increase still more, and lastly to form an amended code of regulations, which he submitted then to the consideration of the Minister in England.

At this period, June, 1774, Mr. Beresford married his second wife, and insured a mother's care to his large family of children. The lady was Barbara, the second daughter of Sir William Montgomery, and the sister of Elizabeth, who the preceding year had married Mr. Gardiner, afterwards Lord Mountjoy, and of Anne, Marchioness Townshend. The three sisters were celebrated beauties; their picture, pourtrayed as the "Graces," is one of the most admired productions of Sir Joshua Reynolds's pencil, and now in the National Gallery.

In 1776, the Parliament completed its allotted term of existence, and a general election took place. Mr. Beresford was a third time returned for the county of Waterford.

After some difficulty in selecting a successor to Lord Harcourt, Lord Buckinghamshire was appointed Lord-Lieutenant, and landed on the 25th January, 1777, accompanied by Mr. Heron, a solicitor, and the manager of his estates in Lincolnshire, as his Chief Secretary.

The correspondence relating to this period is so ample, so complete in its details, and so continuous in its course, that it requires neither preface nor explanation.

It fully developes the policy and clearly narrates the proceedings of the Castle during the four years in which the Government of Ireland was committed to their guidance.

In 1780, Lord Naas, who had been First Commissioner of the Revenue for ten years, retired, and Mr. Beresford succeeded to the situation. He continued till 1802 to preside over that Board, and was enabled at last to accomplish the reformation and to establish the improvements which he had so long advocated in the various departments then placed under his superintendence.

In December, 1780, Lord Buckinghamshire returned to England, and Lord Carlisle was sworn in on the 23rd of that month in his place.

The new Viceroy, a high-bred gentleman, an accomplished scholar, a firm and honest politician, was peculiarly fitted to discharge, with credit to himself and with benefit to Ireland, the duties of his position, and to give satisfaction to all ranks and parties there.

His Secretary too, Mr. W. Eden, was a superior man, of great intelligence, and well versed in the conduct of public business. In private life he was acknowledged on all sides to be a most agreeable companion and a most amiable man. Between Mr. Eden and Mr. Beresford an intimacy soon commenced that rapidly grew into a mutual attachment and a lasting friendship which death alone closed. Their sympathies, whether in their politics or their recreations, were kindred. Keen and eager to fulfil their respective duties as Ministers, they devoted themselves with equal energy to

public affairs. When the day of relaxation arrived, they sought the same pleasure, in the cultivation of their flowers, and in personally superintending their favourite hothouses.

Their garden was the hallowed spot from which politics were excluded—where they sought the repose which they needed, and where they enjoyed without alloy the remission of toil which they were well entitled to expect in their privileged retirement.

In the course of their correspondence, even on important occasions, an allusion will be sometimes found to this their congenial pursuit, and sometimes a piece of horticultural information is appended to a letter written on graver subjects.

Under the auspices of Lord Carlisle, and with the hearty co-operation of his Secretary, Mr. Beresford was at length enabled, in addition to the more immediate duties of his office, to give full effect to those great and important improvements which he had so long contemplated in the public buildings of Dublin, and to project an amelioration in the leading thoroughfares of the city, as well as an increase of the communication by bridges between the northern and southern portions of it, which was at this time much dependent upon ferries.

An order was now, at length, obtained from the Treasury at Whitehall to begin the erection of a new Custom House, of proper dimensions to accommodate the extended commerce of the city, and in a fresh situation, more adapted to encourage the trade of Dublin than the old and ruinous building in which the adminis-

tration of the Revenue had heretofore been conducted. The first stone was laid in August, 1781, and notwithstanding the opposition which either party spirit or the enmity of interested individuals raised, the work was continued for several years with unabated spirit, and was completed in 1791, in the November of which year it was opened for the transaction of public business.

The widening and extending the quays, and the opening spacious communications between Sackville Street and Rutland Square on the north, with the Houses of Parliament and the College on the south of the river, which now render Dublin so remarkable as one of the most commodious and beautiful cities in Europe, were then projected, and arrangements were commenced for their final accomplishment.

In the spring of 1782, the Administration of Lord North, after having exhibited increasing symptoms of weakness, was compelled to yield to the assaults of the Opposition, and resigned. Lord Rockingham succeeded as Prime Minister, and the Duke of Portland came over, in succession to Lord Carlisle. The sojourn of his Grace at Dublin Castle was but brief, lasting only five months, the Government breaking up on the death of the Premier. Lord Temple landed on the 15th September, as Viceroy, under the Shelburne Administration, which was itself doomed to succumb to the coalition formed between Lord North and Mr. Fox, by whom the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland was consigned to Lord Northington, who remained for only nine months. These three Lord-Lieutenants did not govern Ireland quite two years altogether. During their short and somewhat

discordant Administrations (excepting, however, the latter period of Lord Temple's Viceroyalty), Mr. Beresford endeavoured, as much as he was able, to restrict himself to the official care of his own department, and seldom attended at the Castle or obtruded his opinion at the Council Board. Consequently the correspondence of that period is necessarily limited.

In 1784 however, Mr. Pitt, having succeeded as Prime Minister, committed the government of Ireland to the Duke of Rutland, in whom he reposed implicit confidence, both private and public. Mr. Beresford was once more consulted, his opinion was again sought for both at the Castle and in Downing Street, and he willingly exerted his best energies in the service of a Government, which he firmly believed had not only the best interests of the empire, but also the especial benefit of Ireland, at heart. At the request of Mr. Pitt, he repaired to London, at a few hours' notice, and arranged with him the Irish Propositions, which were conceived by that Minister in a spirit of just liberality towards Ireland; but party animosity and national prejudices interfered, and they were ultimately defeated. This failure of his efforts to benefit Irish trade, and to place it on as equal a footing as was practicable with the trade of England, as well as some political difficulties which soon after arose, suggested to the prescient genius of that great statesman the necessity of the legislative union of the two kingdoms, which he long contemplated, and finally achieved.

Mr. Orde, afterwards Lord Bolton, was Irish Secretary during the Viceroyalty of the Duke of Rutland. His

correspondence relative to the Irish Propositions is extremely prolix. The Editor has therefore selected only a few of the letters which bear most on important parts of the subject, not wishing to weary the reader by the lengthened discussion of a matter the interest of which, however momentous at the time, has quite ceased since the Union.

In 1786, Mr. Beresford was sworn a member of the Privy Council in England.

While administering the Government of Ireland, with benefit to that country, to the satisfaction of all parties in it, and with a degree of general popularity that no other Viceroy had attained, the Duke of Rutland died, after a few days' illness, in October, 1787.

He was succeeded, in December, by Lord Buckingham, who, as Lord Temple, had been Lord-Lieutenant in 1782. Lord Buckingham, however, remained only till June, 1789, and Lord Westmoreland was sworn in Chief Governor in his place, on the 5th of January, 1790.

In 1790, the Parliament was dissolved; and at the general election which ensued, Mr. Beresford was returned, for the fifth time, Member for the county of Waterford. As, however, there was an opposition, and a contest occurred, he was also returned for the borough of Coleraine, where there had always existed a strong family interest, as had been the case, under similar circumstances, at the previous election of 1783. On both occasions Mr. Beresford took his seat for the county.

Mr. Beresford was much in the confidence of Lord Westmoreland's Administration, and his opinion on all

matters of importance was deemed worthy of the highest consideration.

In the course of the year 1794, the war in opposition to the progress of the French Revolution became daily more unsuccessful. The force of democratic principles, favoured as they were by the course of untoward events on the Continent, gradually gained strength, and alarmed Mr. Pitt. Dangerous doctrines, which he justly regarded as subversive of the foundations of good government and of monarchical institutions, were not only tolerated, but spread widely their noxious influence around, and found advocates even within the walls of the English Parliament. For the purpose of checking their advance, of strengthening the hands of the Executive, and of extending the basis of the Administration, Mr. Pitt sought the co-operation of some of those who, not having hitherto participated in his political views, yet at this particular juncture shared in his dread of revolutionary principles, and were desirous of arresting the progress of the torrent which seemed rapidly advancing upon the happier neighbours of regicide France. To effect these objects, he entered into negotiations, in the beginning of the summer, with the Duke of Portland, Lord Spencer, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Mr. Windham, gentlemen attached to Whig principles, but impressed with a just abhorrence and dread of revolution and anarchy. It was not, however, till late in the autumn that the arrangements, with regard to the particular offices which these auxiliary statesmen were destined respectively to fill, were finally settled. Lord Fitzwilliam was then appointed to succeed Lord Westmoreland, and

prepared immediately to take upon himself the government of Ireland, with Lord Milton (son of Lord Dorchester) as Chief Secretary.

His Excellency landed on Sunday afternoon, the 4th January, and on Wednesday the 7th he sent word to Mr. Beresford that he was dismissed from the situation of Chief Commissioner of the Revenue.

It is not the intention of the Editor to enter here into a hostile examination of the conduct pursued by Lord Fitzwilliam on this occasion, nor to write a justificatory defence of so near a relative. He therefore refers, without further comment, to the papers, both public and confidential, which he here lays open to general inspection, and to the letters, private and official, which fully develop the whole transaction in all its bearings, from its commencement to its conclusion; and he appeals, on the merits of the case, to the fair and impartial judgment of all that peruse them, pointing out, however, and firmly relying on the opinion of two able and highly honourable statesmen, Lord Carlisle and Lord Buckingham, who both possessed all that intimate acquaintance with character and facts which their experience as Lord-Lieutenants had afforded them, and who did not hesitate to record their animadversion of the injustice of the imputations which had been thus cast on Mr. Beresford.

Mr. Beresford appealed to the Minister in England, and left his case in his hands. Considering, however, that his official career was closed, at least for the present, by the fiat of Lord Fitzwilliam, he directed his

attention to his private affairs, and to some domestic sollicitudes which had just then arisen. Mrs. Beresford's health had been for some time past rapidly declining, and at this moment the Dublin physicians had ordered her to proceed to Bath. Her afflicted husband took advantage of his release from official duties to accompany her thither, and they sailed from Dublin on the 22nd January.

In the month of March it was determined in Downing Street to recall Lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland. He sailed for England on Wednesday, the 25th, six days before his successor, Lord Camden, arrived.

While these events, in which Mr. Beresford had neither leisure nor spirits to take an active part, were passing, Mrs. Beresford's illness rapidly increased, and baffled all medical skill. She expired on the 19th May, at Marlborough, on her road to London.

After paying the last duties to her remains, and having secluded himself in order to regain his composure after a loss which he felt most bitterly, Mr. Beresford repaired to London, the latter end of June, when the hostile correspondence between him and Lord Fitzwilliam took place, which forms a remarkable event in Mr. Beresford's public life, and made a considerable sensation in both countries at that time.

The Editor feels bound to acknowledge, and he does it with pleasure, that the conduct of Lord Fitzwilliam in England, whatever it may have been while under the influence of evil counsellors in Ireland, was throughout marked with the highest sense of honour, and stamped

with the courtesy and manly straightforwardness which became his station, and which influenced his conduct and character through life.

By desire of Mr. Pitt, and with the approbation of the Sovereign himself, Mr. Beresford returned in July to Dublin, was restored to the office from which he had been dismissed, and re-assumed his position at the Revenue Board and in the councils of the Castle.

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Camden the revolutionary contagion continued, principally by means of French instigation, to diffuse itself in the minds of the lower orders, till at length, in 1798, the Rebellion broke out. Mr. Pelham, who was Chief Secretary, possessed neither the health nor the vigour to face this trying emergency; he retired to England, and Lord Castle-reagh, then a young and untried statesman, being nephew and private secretary of the Lord-Lieutenant, was nominated by His Excellency as Mr. Pelham's *locum tenens*.

That eminent man soon showed, by the sagacity of his views, and by the energy of his actions, that he was in every respect more fitted and qualified to carry out the arduous duties committed to his care than the Secretary himself, and he was soon after permanently appointed his successor.

The French invasion and the general insurrection rendered the nomination of a military Chief Governor highly expedient; and Lord Cornwallis was nominated, for the purpose of uniting the office of Lord-Lieutenant with the command of the forces in Ireland, Lord Castle-

reagh continuing to act as Chief Secretary. By their combined efforts, the Rebellion was soon quelled, and measures of lenity succeeded to the sad but necessary severities of a civil war.

Mr. Pitt then considered that the proper time had arrived when it behoved the Minister of the Crown to propose a sound and efficacious remedy for the constantly-recurring evils of Irish troubles, and to endeavour to prevent for the future the renewal of those periodical convulsions which had marked the political history of that kingdom during the past half century, and which had marred and retarded the development of those improvements and of that prosperity of which he perceived the elements in her natural resources, when not impeded by the cabal of party and by the turmoil of political strife.

He immediately sought the co-operation of Lord Castlereagh and of Mr. Beresford.

The idea of a legislative union between the two kingdoms was not a new scheme to the mind of the latter. He had first caught the notion, and had speculated on the possibility of it, in the time of Lord Buckinghamshire's Government. The fate of the Irish Propositions during the Viceroyalty of the Duke of Rutland had revived it, the regency disputes had given it fresh force, and the troubles of the Rebellion had more recently impressed him with its absolute necessity.

The measure was brought forward in January, 1799, but was defeated that year in the Irish House of Commons. Though deferred, it was not abandoned; and

the following autumn was dedicated to a more diligent and mature preparation, and to the discussion and adjustment of details, preparatory to the renewal of the question in the ensuing session. Mr. Beresford was again summoned to London by Mr. Pitt, to join in the consultation ; and he amply contributed his assistance in adjusting the arrangements.

The motion in January, 1800, was successful ; the Union was settled, and the Irish Parliament closed its existence with the commencement of the new century.

Mr. Beresford's health had been latterly much impaired by the repeated attacks of severe gout, to which for a long time he had been frequently subject. The incessant toil and hard work of the last two years had visibly affected his strength, and he now felt that the time was come when he ought to afford himself some relaxation, and give heed to the warnings which increasing age and a shattered constitution awakened.

He therefore deemed the present a fitting moment for requesting Mr. Pitt to relieve him from the fatigues of official life, and to appoint a successor in his place at the head of the Revenue Board ; but his great experience and intimate knowledge of the Irish Revenue was found indispensably necessary to superintend the practical accomplishment of those financial arrangements between the two kingdoms consequent upon the Union, which he had so largely contributed to settle. He was, therefore, unwillingly compelled to continue in office for nearly two years after his application to retire. In 1802, Lord Donoughmore was appointed in his stead,

and Mr. Beresford had then no public duties but those of Parliament to attend to.

He disposed of his villa of Abbeville, near Dublin, where had chiefly resided for thirty years, and he purchased a house in London, and there established himself during the session of Parliament. When that was concluded, he retired to his seat at Walworth, in the county of Londonderry, where he passed the remainder of the year.

Mr. Beresford was returned to the first Imperial Parliament for the county of Waterford, and entered the British House of Commons the oldest Irish Member, having represented the same constituency uninterruptedly forty years.

At the dissolution in 1802 he was chosen, for the eighth and last time, Member for that county. Having assisted Mr. Pitt to resume the reins of power in 1804, he supported him through that session and the ensuing one. At the prorogation in 1805, he returned to Walworth, and busied himself in country pursuits, and in the improvement of his property.

On the 1st November, he took a long walk through his woods, projecting some improvements; the day was unusually warm and fine for the season of the year. He felt tired, and sat down for a few minutes to rest himself; but it is supposed that he got a chill. When he returned to the house he merely considered that he had caught a trifling cold. In the course of the night, however, he was taken extremely ill, and next day, the 2nd, he was confined to his room, but he felt no alarm.

On the 3rd, towards the evening, gout, attended by erysipelas, showed itself, and before night attacked his head. He soon lost all consciousness, and after severe suffering, expired, on the 5th, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

WM. BERESFORD.

HAMPTON COURT,

20th December, 1858.

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ERRATA.

- Vol. I. Page 16, line 3, *for* literal, *read* littoral.**
„ Page 59, line 4 of note a, *for* 1808, *read* 1812.

THE
CORRESPONDENCE

OF

THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BERESFORD.

LORD FREDERICK CAMPBELL^a TO MR. BERESFORD.

Spring Gardens, March 24th, 1770.

MANY thanks to you, my dear Beresford, for the very early communication you have been so kind as to favour me with, relative to this great change which has at last taken place in Ireland. It gave me infinite pleasure to know that Lord Townshend had placed you in a situation so agreeable to yourself and so useful to him. If what has been already done is followed up properly, and some general system steadily pursued, Ireland will be much obliged to His Excellency for his perseverance.

^a Lord Frederick Campbell, the Right Hon., fourth son of John, fourth Duke of Argyle and Mary Bellenden, daughter of John, second Lord Bellenden, a celebrated beauty at the Court of George I., and maid of honour to Caroline, then Princess of Wales. (*Vide Coxe's Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole.*) "The beautiful and lively Mary Bellenden, an accomplished pattern of good sense and exemplary conduct." Born 17—; M.P. for borough of Rutherglen from 1762 to 1774, for county Argyle from 1780 to 1799; appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland 1767, resigned 1768; Lord Registrar for Scotland 1768; 1769, married Mary, daughter of Sir Wm. Meredyth, Bart., widow of Lawrence, fourth Earl Ferrers, of unfortunate memory (this lady was accidentally burnt to death at Comb Bank, in Kent, in 1807); died 1816.

and have had an opportunity of going through it with Lord North. It is with pleasure that I obey his commands to acquaint you that it is very satisfactory to him, and that he approves very much of the plan which you have attempted, and that he is sorry that it did not succeed. Allan^a is now here, and every attention will be paid to consider the best way to recover the lost opportunity. He will correspond with you from time to time, and acquaint you of every proposition.

Permit me to add, that I feel sure that you have great merit in this matter, and to assure you that I am with the highest respect and regard, my dear sir, your most faithful and obedient servant,

JOHN ROBINSON.

LORD HARCOURT,^b LORD-LIEUT., TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, 9th October, 1775.

MY DEAR LORD,—I have at last settled everything

^a Allan, Thomas, M.P. for Killibegs, 1768, for Naas, 1776; Commissioner of Revenue (Ireland) 1773; Commissioner of Customs (England), 1778 to 1785.

^b Simon Harcourt, first Earl Harcourt, only son of the Hon. Simon Harcourt and Elizabeth, daughter of John Evelyn, of Wooton; succeeded his grandfather, Simon Viscount Harcourt (who was Lord High Chancellor to Queen Anne), 1727; created Earl Harcourt 1749; appointed, 1751, Governor to the Prince of Wales (King George III.); sent, July, 1761, Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Strelitz for the purpose of concluding a marriage between his Majesty and the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh; 1768, Ambassador to the Court of France; declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland Nov. 1772; sworn in at Dublin 30th Nov.; succeeded by Lord Buckinghamshire 1777; married, 1735, Rebecca, daughter and heiress of Charles le Bass, of Pipwell Abbey, Northamptonshire. Accidentally drowned in an old well in his park at Nuneham, Oxfordshire, Sept. 1777.

with Mr. Flood,* who accepts of the Vice-Treasurership, which I have pledged myself to procure for him within the space of ten days, or a fortnight at furthest. He is at present a good deal out of order, and confined at home, which may prevent his taking any part in the business of the House, for some days at least, or perhaps till the King's letter for his appointment may reach Dublin, for till that happens your Lordship may conceive that his situation is awkward enough. Since I was born, I never had to deal with so difficult a man, owing principally to his high-strained ideas of his own great importance and popularity; but the acquisition of such a man, however desirable at other times, may prove more than ordinarily valuable in the difficult times we may live to see, and which may afford him a very ample field to display his great abilities; and if he exerts them, as he ought to do, in the service of the Crown, I

* Flood, Henry, the Right Hon., the celebrated orator and rival of Henry Grattan, eldest son of Warden Flood, Chief Justice of King's Bench; born 1731; educated at Trinity College, Dublin, favourite pupil of Dr. Markham, Archbishop of York. Came into Parliament during Lord Halifax's vice-royalty, and continued till 1791, having represented the county of Kilkenny and borough of Callan; he was first fired by the success of W. Gerard Hamilton's eloquence. Accepted, in 1775, the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland; removed 1781; married, 1762, Lady Frances Beresford, fifth daughter of Marcus, Earl of Tyrone. It is recorded of Mr. Flood, that "he was better at reply than at a formal speech. His quickness and powers of retort were unrivalled." Came into the English House of Commons in 1783 for Winchester. On the succeeding dissolution, not having been selected by the Duke of Chandos for re-election, an angry, nay, hostile, correspondence took place between them. Sat afterwards for Seaford from 1786 to 1790; died 1791.

shall think myself amply rewarded for all the pains I have taken to bring this long-depending affair to a happy issue.

I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my most grateful sense of His Majesty's most unbounded goodness to me in so graciously affording me the means of making this arrangement; and I must ever acknowledge the various instances of your Lordship's good offices and generous support throughout the course of this very tedious business. I shall send off a messenger to-morrow night with an account of what passes in each House of Parliament; and your Lordship will, I flatter myself, be so kind as to order the King's letter for Mr. Flood's appointment to be transmitted hither by the same messenger, who has orders to wait for it, that by getting it as soon as possible, I may be enabled to make good my engagement with Mr. Flood.

I am, my dear Lord, your very faithful and obedient servant,

HARCOURT.

MR. LEES* TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin Castle, 7th April, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR,—Upon the report of the Address, a

* Lees, John, a Scottish gentleman, an officer in Lord Townshend's regiment, who, having distinguished himself under his command, was taken by his Excellency, as his private secretary, to Ireland; remained in the same confidential situation to Lord Harcourt; appointed, 1769, Collector of Drogheda; 1774, Secretary to the Post Office, as originally established; 1775, second Under-Secretary of State, removed 1782; 1785, appointed Secretary to the Post Office, under the new arrangements; created Baronet 1804; married Mary Cathcart; died 1811. . .

Mr. Grattan,^a brought in by Lord Charlemond, and the true mouth-piece and representation of his violence and illiberal proceedings in Parliament, attempted, not only grossly to misrepresent and deceive the House upon the proceedings of Administration, but to talk a language personally insulting and disrespectful to His Excellency and his Secretary. Sir John,^b who has no great inclination at any time to be silent in the cause of his friend,

^a Grattan, Henry, the Right Hon., son of James Grattan, Recorder and M.P. for city of Dublin, and Mary, daughter of Chief Justice Marlay; born 1746; called to the bar 1772; came into Parliament for the borough of Charlemont 1775, in succession to the brother of Lord Charlemont, lost in a packet between Dublin and Parksgate; continued to represent Charlemont till 1790, when returned for the city of Dublin. In 1797 he retired from Parliament, being in a delicate state of health, till, on the last debate upon the Union, he was brought in for the borough of Wicklow for the purpose of opposing its enactment. Returned for the first time to the Imperial Parliament, for the borough of Malton, in 1805; afterwards for the city of Dublin; married, 1782, Henrietta Fitzgerald; died 1820.

The above sketch of this illustrious orator, one of the brightest ornaments of the Irish House of Commons during a period distinguished by the number and brilliancy of its eloquent public speakers, has been curtailed as much as it was possible, because his career is so well and generally known.

^b Blaquière, Sir John, the Right Hon., born 1732; formerly Lieut.-Col. of the 17th Dragoons; Secretary of Legation at Paris 1771; Chief Secretary of Ireland 1772 to 1777; Bailiff of Phoenix Park; Alnager of Ireland, for which office he received compensation, 1781; K.B. 1774; Commissioner of Paving Board 1786; M.P. for Old Leighlin, 1776; for Enniskillen 1783; Carlingford 1790; Newtown 1797; M.P. for Rye in the first Imperial Parliament; created Baronet, 1784; Baron de Blaquière 1800; married, 1775, Eleanor, daughter of Robert Dobson, of Annsgrrove, county Cork; died 1812.

or tamely to acquiesce in any personality to himself, with great composure and with his accustomed address and ability, fully justified and refuted every measure and reflection that had been thrown on Administration, and then retorted most ably the aspersions thrown on His Excellency and himself in a tone and manner that made the little Hibernian (and he is a spirited one, too,) thoroughly ashamed and confounded, which he indirectly acknowledged in his place, and to my knowledge afterwards frankly acknowledged in private company. Every Member in the House that spoke joined with Sir John in very high commendations of Lord Townshend. The drift of the little Faction was to extol Lord Townshend's, with a view, by comparison, to depreciate Lord Harcourt's Administration. Grattan gave the tongue, and was followed by Yelverton^a and Bushe.^b Sir J. B., by a fine Parliamentary hit, seized the fortunate moment, saying that the time was now come which he had been daily expecting, when all ranks of men and all parties would unite in doing justice to the conduct of

^a Yelverton, Barry, the Right Hon., eldest son of Francis Yelverton and Elizabeth, daughter of Jonas Barry; born 1736; M.P. for Carrickfergus 1776; Attorney-General 1782; Chief Baron Exchequer 1783; created, 1795, Baron Avonmore; 1800, Viscount; married Mary, daughter of W. Nugent, 1761; died 1805.

^b Bushe, Gervais Parker, son of Amias Bushe, of Kilfane, County Kilkenny, and Miss Parker (daughter of General Parker, Commanding the Forces in Ireland); born 1732; M.P. for Granard 1768; M.P. for city of Kilkenny 1778; borough of Fore 1783; 1790, M.P. for Lansborough; married, 1768, eldest daughter of James Grattan, and sister to the Right Hon. Henry Grattan; died 1793; appointed, 1784, Commissioner of Revenue.

that nobleman. He made a very fine panegyric on Lord Townshend, and was, I have said, followed in his encomiums upon his Lordship by every Member who spoke.

From my Lord Harcourt's to Lord North, and the copy His Excellency incloses of his answer to Lord Weymouth,* you see that he meets what some will construe into a humiliating and disgraceful recall with becoming firmness, at the same time with a perfect submission to the King's commands, satisfied, however, as all men must be who know anything of the Constitution and Government of this kingdom, of the utter impossibility of serving the King in the station of Lord-Lieutenant, if that station is to be divested of the powers ordered to be yielded to the Commander-in-Chief.

My dear Sir, your most faithful, humble, and obliged servant, ,

JOHN LEES.

LORD ROCHFORD^b TO LORD NORTH.

Berkeley Square, 4th June, 1776.

MY DEAR LORD,—I have put down in writing, as you will see by the inclosed paper, my reasons against

* Weymouth, Thynne Thomas, third Viscount, son of Thomas, second Viscount, and Lady Louisa Carteret, daughter of John, Earl Granville; born 1734; succeeded 1751; married, 1759, Lady Elizabeth Bentinck, daughter of William, second Duke of Portland; created Marquis of Bath 1789; appointed Secretary of State 1768 to 1770; Secretary of State again 1775 to 1779; Groom of the Stole 1782; K.G.; died 1796.

^b Rochford, William Henry Nassau, fourth Earl of, son of Frederick, third Earl, and Lady Elizabeth Savage, daughter of Richard, Earl Rivers; Envoy to Turin 1749 to 1754; Amba-

a resident Lord-Lieutenant; I have not mentioned a word of a Lord-Deputy, but your Lordship knows what I said to you on that subject this morning; it must be indifferent to me which mode is to be adopted, but I throw it out for your consideration. I have only to add, that I must entreat your Lordship to lay the enclosed before His Majesty; as nothing would hurt me more than to have the King think I would presume to make conditions, was it possible for me to undertake it with any prospect of duration. I have the honour to be, with the sincerest regard,

My dear Lord,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

ROCHFORD.

LORD ROCHFORD'S OPINION CONCERNING A RESIDENT
LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

The King has now had the experience of two resident Lord-Lieutenants of Ireland, and it is presumed His Majesty must have seen that the expense has been as great to English Government, if not greater, than during the period of lords justices. It must be confessed that it was absolutely necessary to break through the factious designs of lords justices, who made their bargain with the Lord-Lieutenant, and afterwards paid little regard to the interest of English Government; but since the revenue is put upon another footing, their power during the absence of the Lord-Lieutenant is entirely taken

sador to Court of Madrid 1763; 1766, to Paris; 1768, Secretary of State till 1775; K.G.; Lord-Lieutenant Essex; died, 1781, at St. Osyth's Priory, Essex (which estate he left to his natural son).

away, as to anything material; and if lords justices should be again appointed, care should be taken, not to choose them out of the noblemen of that country, who must be more partial to Ireland than to England, but to appoint official men, and Englishmen, viz. the Chancellor, the Primate, and the Commander-in-Chief; this (in the opinion of those who were most sanguine formerly for the Lord-Lieutenant being president) could be productive of no bad consequences: the present Chancellor of Ireland is clearly of opinion that great things may be done for English Government if the Lord-Lieutenant has the ear of his Sovereign sometimes during his administration. Ireland has been too little attended to; it is every day growing a greater object, and requires the King's own hand and eye, which would be the case if the Lord-Lieutenant could receive his immediate orders from his Sovereign, without corresponding eternally through the offices. The state of affairs in England must often regulate the Lord-Lieutenant's conduct in Ireland, and he ought not to see them by the eyes of other men.

But what seems the most essentially necessary is, the regulation of the military orders; Instructions, officially transmitted without explanations that cannot always be committed to paper, have been productive of the greatest inconveniences. Lord Rochford, whilst he had the honour of being Secretary of State, has frequently seen the King's orders relative to the military not obeyed with the precision and exactness they ought to have been. This could not be the case, was the Lord-Lieutenant to learn from the King's own mouth his wishes and intentions. With regard to the political

government of Ireland, one hour's conversation with the King's Ministers, would give more explicit and ample information to a Lord-Lieutenant than folios of official or even confidential despatches. All men that are used to business will be struck with the truth of this proposition. There is one reason more, which has its weight, and that is, the seldomer the splendour of power is seen, the stronger it operates. Borrowed dignity may be kept up for a few months during the time of an active session, but must necessarily degenerate into familiarity during eighteen months' recess. For these and many other reasons, Lord Rochford is convinced in his own mind, that it is a most unwise measure to keep a resident Lord-Lieutenant. At the same time he is very free to own, that his sole reasons for putting these reasons on paper is to justify himself from not accepting so very honourable a commission, and he hopes that if his reasons should not prevail, he will not be looked upon as one, who presumes to prescribe terms, but he may modestly be allowed to say, that after having been twelve years employed in foreign embassies, and near eight years Secretary of State, and near sixty years of age, it cannot be expected that he should banish himself for two or three years from his native country, especially as he is, on the fullest conviction, persuaded, that unless he is at times admitted to his Royal Master's presence, he cannot execute as he ought, and as he could wish, the commission with which he is intrusted.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Rainham,* 17th February, 1777.

DEAR SIR,—I trouble you with the letter I requested you to deliver, and to say everything you can for me to my friend the late Sir Archibald Acheson,^b that can advantage me in his esteem, and that can apologise for not answering his obliging letter. The truth is, that in the glut of peerages and decoration of new titles, I could not find my friend's address, as I could not find his letter. Gosfield,^c Lord Clare's (now Nugent)^d and Gosport for

* Rainham, the seat of the Townshends, in Norfolk. Erected from the design of Inigo Jones. (Vide *Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, chap. 37.) "Originally Houghton was far inferior to Rainham, but now Houghton eclipses the more sober and less splendid establishment of Rainham."

^b Acheson, Sir Archibald, son of Sir Arthur, fifth Baronet, and Anne, daughter of the Right Hon. Philip Savage, Chancellor of Exchequer, Ireland; born 1718; M.P. county Armagh 1761, &c.; created, 1776, Baron Gosford; 1785, Viscount; married, 1740, Mary, daughter of John Richardson, Rich Hill, county Armagh; died 1790.

^c Gosfield Hall, in the county of Essex, was the property of Robert Knight, whose widow (Elizabeth Craggs) married Lord Nugent, and carried the estate into that family. Mary, the only surviving child of Lord Nugent, married the first Marquis of Buckingham, whose son, the first Duke, sold Gosfield to Mr. Barnard, M.P. for Greenwich in 1818.

^d Clare, Robert Nugent, Viscount, son of Michael Nugent, of Carlanstown, county Westmeath, and Mary Plunkett, daughter of Lord Trimlestown; born 1714; M.P. for St. Mawes; created Viscount Clare 1766; Earl Nugent 1776; married, first, Lady Emma Plunkett, daughter to the fourth Earl of Fingall; second, Anne, daughter of Right Hon. James Craggs (widow of R. Knight); third, Elizabeth Drox (widow of Augustus, fourth Earl of Berkeley); died 1788; Vice Treasurer of Ireland 1768 to 1782; President of Board of Trade and Plantations 1766.

ever ran in my head; my friend's was something like them, and I feared to err, and hence arose my delay, or I had not neglected one of the most sincere and meritorious friends I ever met with in public life.

As I have not been in town since I had the pleasure of seeing you here, I have not seen Lord Harcourt, and hardly know anything of Irish affairs—only that it is said the present Lord-Lieutenant^a proposes to restore the dignity of government let down since the Duke of Dorset's^b time, and one regulation is, to dine with no one under the rank of a privy councillor. The Irish are a sociable, convivial people, and I suppose this indiscretion of dining with those not of this rank may arise from the Chief Governor's finding that a social hour did no hurt sometimes to the King's service.

We have had nothing but frost and snow since you

^a The present Lord-Lieutenant, Buckinghamshire, John Hobart, second Earl of, son of first Earl and Sarah Britiffe; born 1722; succeeded 1756; appointed Comptroller of Household to George II.; Ambassador to Russia 1762 to 1765; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1776 to 1780; married, first, 1761, Marianne, daughter of Sir Thomas Drury; second, 1770, Caroline, daughter of Right Hon. William Conolly; died 1793. Lord Buckinghamshire signed his name Buckingham till 1786, when Lord Temple was created Marquis of Buckingham. He then adopted the proper signature of Buckinghamshire.

^b Dorset, Lionel Sackville, seventh Earl of, son of Charles, sixth Earl, and Lady Mary Compton, daughter of James, Earl of Northampton; born 1688; succeeded 1706; created Duke of Dorset 1720; Lord Steward to George II. till 1730, when he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; 1737, Lord Steward again; 1744, Lord-President; 1751, Lord-Lieutenant, second time, to Ireland till 1755; Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; married, 1709, Elizabeth, daughter of General Colyear; died 1765.

left us—but are all, thank God, very healthy here. Some public business of my office will call me up in a few days, but as to the very disagreeable one of a private nature, whether through the faults of lawyers, or some ill advisers of my son, it remains in such a situation, that I am sick of the subject. Our love to the Barb.* I hope you did not forget me to Waite.

I remain, dear Sir, with truest esteem, your very obliged and affectionate humble servant,

TOWNSHEND.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

August, 1777.

DEAR SIR,—We are just setting out for Norfolk, but I shall take Landguard Fort in my way, where I am endeavouring to develope our train of artillery, and its application from the mysteries of formality and official pedantry which has long prevailed, to the great delusion and prejudice of the public, by following theory by practice. We shall then all go to Rainham, and live at our ease and in plenty for a few months. I wish you and the Barb and your family were with us. Give our love to all. We are in great pain here about our American affairs; I hope, for one, that Howe is not gone to the southward, unless he is sure of some rapid stroke. The heats are severe; a diminished army, if the enemy should ravage Long Island and Connecticut, would make his winter quarters very painful, and perhaps insupportable to this country. The best, I think, that can be

* “The Barb.” The familiar appellation always adopted by Lord Townshend when speaking of Mrs. Beresford.

hoped for is, a junction with Burgoyne ; a separation of the northern from the southern provinces, and, when the season is fit, a literal warfare on the southern ports, and blockading their harbours there ; which, to our misfortune, have never been shut up.—Adieu, dear Sir.

Voilà les reveries militaires ! and what is more impudent ! just when a courier may be landed. Carleton returns immediately, and Haldemand is sent off to succeed him. I have just had the pleasure to meet O'Neil^a and Jackson^b in our square ; they both dine with me to-morrow. Our love to you and yours.

Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

TOWNSHEND.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ALLAN.

Dublin, October 14th, 1777.

MY DEAR ALLAN,—This day the session opened with the usual ceremony, and the speech was delivered from

^a O'Neil, John, the Right Hon., son of Charles O'Neil, of Shane's Castle, and Catharine, daughter of Sir John Broderick ; born 1748 ; M.P. for Randalstown 1768 ; for county of Antrim 1783 ; created, 1793, Baron O'Neil ; 1795, Viscount ; married, 1777, the Hon. Harriet Boyle, daughter of Viscount Dungarvan ; died, 1798, of wounds received from the rebel forces at Antrim. :

It is a remarkable fact, that Lord O'Neil and Lord Mountjoy, who both perished in 1798 by the pikes of the rebels, had been conspicuous, during their parliamentary career, for the strong part which they took in advocating the claims of the Roman Catholics.

^b Jackson, Richard, the Right Hon., son of the Right Hon. William Jackson and Frances, daughter of George Eyre, of Eyre Court. A cousin of Mr. Beresford's ; M.P. for Coleraine in several Parliaments ; married Anne, sister to John, first Viscount O'Neil ; died 1790. .

the throne, with the approbation of some, and the disapprobation of others; not a mention of America; the consequences which Lord Tyrone mentioned are already beginning to appear: Yelverton and Grattan both told me that America was now given up, that nothing could give them more pleasure, and that they would make the best use of it. As yet no one has said a word about it. The address to the King was moved by Lord Jocelyn,^a and seconded by Lord Westport,^b neither of them said a word, but the words of the bare motion, and seconding, so no debate or observation arose; Gardiner,^c who moved that to the Lord-Lieutenant, entered into the field of panegyrics, and praised His Excellency for every virtue, but particularly for his taste, alluding to his wife,

^a Jocelyn, Lord Robert Jocelyn, son of Robert, first Earl of Roden, and Lady Ann Hamilton, daughter and heiress of James, Earl of Clanbrassil; born 1756; M.P. for Maryborough 1776; M.P. for Dundalk 1781, 1783, and 1790; succeeded his father 1797; married, first, 1788, Theodosia, daughter of Robert Bligh, Dean of Elphin; secondly, 1804, Juliana Orde; died 1829.

^b Westport, John Dean Browne, Viscount, eldest son of Peter, second Earl of Altamont, and Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Denis Kelly, Chief Justice of Jamaica; born 1756; M.P. for borough of Jamestown 1776; succeeded his father 1780; married, 1787, Lady Louisa Howe, daughter of Admiral Earl Howe; created, 1800, Marquis of Sligo; died 1809.

^c Gardiner, Luke, the Right Hon., son of the Right Hon. Charles Gardiner and Florinda, daughter of Robert Norman, of Lagore, county Meath; born 1745; M.P. for county of Dublin 1768 to 1789; created, 1789, Baron Mountjoy; 1795, Viscount; married, 1773, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Wm. Montgomery, Bart., sister of Lady Townshend and Mrs. Beresford; died 1798, having been killed at the head of his regiment (Dublin Militia) at the battle of New Ross.

message, and obtain a special address on the Peace, which cost him much trouble.

I find they think that Tyrone's giving his opinion at the meeting, that America ought to be mentioned, was a contrivance of mine to embarrass them. Without any ceremony, I declare to you, upon my honour, it was not; it was because he thought it right, and not only proper for the honour of the Crown, but for the real ease of His Excellency. Do they think, if I had a mind to embarrass them, I would not do it openly in the House? Could I not make twenty members do it, and sit by laughing at them, if I chose it? I do not mean to say that Heron* thinks so, but the minister does, so do all the Leinsters, and Conolly; and, if they can persuade him, so does His Excellency; but I trust that Mr. Robinson will do Tyrone justice, who means to serve English Government, and whoever they send here.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. ALLAN TO MR. BERESFORD.

16th March, 1778, eleven o'clock.

MY DEAR SIR,—A declaration of war with France certain in a few days; to-morrow a message is to be

* Heron, Richard, the Right Hon., fourth son of Robert Heron, Recorder of Newark; brought up a Scrivener and Land Agent, and managed the estates of Lord Buckinghamshire, who, on being appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, nominated Mr. Heron to be Chief Secretary 1777; created a Baronet 1778; married Jane, daughter of Dr. A. Hall; died, without issue,

delivered to both Houses from the King, telling them that the French ambassador had given Lord Weymouth notice of a treaty of commerce his master had entered into with the *Independent* States of America, which does not exclude them from trading with any other country. Lord North gave the information. The debate was spirited; Fox very violent. The post going out.

T. ALLAN.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ALLAN.

Dublin, March 21st, 1778.

MY DEAR ALLAN,—I received your three letters of the 16th this day. I cannot say that I am very much averse to the French war, which, though attended with some disagreeable circumstances, yet is better than what has been going on, and will have certainly the advantage of uniting these nations; it has already operated here. This day, Denis Daly* got up and declared, that without waiting for authentic information, he was determined on Monday next to move an address to assure His Majesty of our inviolable attachment to his person and the English constitution, and of our utmost exer-

1805; succeeded by his nephew, Sir Robert Heron, of Stubton, Lincolnshire.

* Daly, Denis, the Right Hon., son of James Daly, of Dunsandle, county Galway, and Katherine, daughter of Sir St. George Gore, Bart., M.P.; born 1747; M.P. for county Galway from 1768 till his death; appointed Muster-Master-General in Ireland 1782; married, 1780, Lady Harriet Maxwell, daughter of Robert, Earl of Farnham; died 1791. Father to the late Lord Dunsandle, and the Bishop of Cashel. A high-minded gentleman and an eloquent man.

tions in the common cause against all enemies. He introduced this with a very spirited and short speech, in which he said he would move this address before any change could take place in Administration, to show it was not men, but the constitution we regarded, &c. ; he was seconded by Mr. Gardiner, who said he had intended to have done the same ; but would now content himself with supporting, as far as he could, the Address. The zeal and spirit of this country is up, and, if proper measures are adopted, great support may be had ; but Great Britain must open her heart also, and spontaneously offer us some essential objects of trade ; we are now their real support. If they cultivate us, they will find us generous, grateful, and brave. I wish all gratifications offered to come from Lord North ; he is the only popular minister that ever was in this country ; he is looked on as the friend of Ireland, and he may be not only so, but by being so, the real friend of Great Britain : enough of this.

Our Revenue Bill going on—such doctrines I never heard on this subject.

I am now to entertain you with my own affairs. You must know I had yesterday two pistols fired at me by Sir Edward Newenham ; you may recollect I wrote to you long since what footing he stood on at the castle. On yesterday se'nnight, Sir H. Cavendish* moved in his

* Cavendish, Sir Henry, the Right Hon., son of Sir H. Cavendish, first Baronet, and Anne, daughter and heiress of Henry Pyne, of Waterpark, county of Cork ; born 1732 ; succeeded his father as M.P. for Lismore 1776, and continued to represent it till 1797 ; married, 1757, Sarah Bradshaw, created, 1792, Baroness Waterpark ; appointed Receiver-General 1779 ; died 1804.

own case a motion against the proceedings of the Crown lawyers, which you may see in the papers; Sir Edward Newenham^a got up, abused the oppressive proceedings of Government in former times, told his own case, misrepresented every circumstance, laid heavy charges to the account of the Commissioners of Revenue and the orders of Government, and said everything he could to raise a commotion on the subject. I answered him, showing all his misrepresentations, &c., and exposed him completely, to the satisfaction of every one. In the course of what I said, I uttered some expressions which he took exception at, and repeated with exaggerations; I set him right directly. However, he sent to me next day to apologise; I absolutely refused. Mr. Adderley,^b who came to me, showed me his exceptions written down, which were that I should say, "The gentleman's assertions were without foundation." I told him I would not then say whether I had said the words or not; that no explanation was necessary; for in my place I had explained that matter sufficiently. I heard no more until Wednesday, when he inserted in the *Hibernian Journal* a most injurious and impudent paragraph about me. I have not time to tell you all; but we went out yesterday at two o'clock; he fired at me first, I returned; he fired again, and I wished Mr. Adderley

^a Newenham, Sir Edward, Knight. Collector of Excise, Dublin, 1764; removed 1772; M.P. for Enniscorthy 1768; for county of Dublin 1776 and 1783. Survived till after the Union, which he advocated.

^b Adderley, Thomas, M.P. for Cloghnakilty, Comptroller of Stamps.

good morning and went away with my charged pistol. This matter you will hear from others ; all I shall say to you *entre nous* is, that I owe it to the encouragement he has received of late, that I was obliged to risk my life on an equal footing with such a man, because I had the impudence, or imprudence, to support Government measures in late Administrations. I had nothing to say to the measures he complained of ; we were at the Custom Board, he was in the Excise ; but we who stick close, must fight the *friends* of Government with words, and their enemies with pistols.

Yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ALLAN.

Dublin, March 25th, 1778.

MY DEAR ALLAN,—On Monday, Denis Daly made his motion for an Address to the King on the present critical situation. There was a zeal and ardour in every man to express his concurrence, except Grattan and Sir William Osborne,* who were determined to oppose the Address, but were beat out of their resolution by the numbers who spoke and requested unanimity. Osborne was terrified and silent ; Grattan gave a sort of consent, but abused the English and Irish Administration

* Osborne, Sir William, the Right Hon., son of Sir John, sixth Baronet, and Editha Proby ; married Elizabeth Christmas ; died 1783 ; M.P. for Carisfort 1762 ; for Dungarvan 1768 and 1776.

grossly; however, the motion passed *nem. con.* The Speaker affronted Gardiner, who had told the House on Saturday, when Daly gave notice, that he had also intended to do the same, but would now second Daly; the Speaker, however, called on Mounsell before him. The speakers were Denis Daly, Mounsell, Gardiner, Ogle, Honourable Edmond Butler,^a Barry Barry,^b Brownlow,^c George Montgomery,^d Neville,^e James Stewart,

^a Butler, Edmond, the Hon., only son of Edmund, tenth Viscount Mountgarret, and Charlotte, daughter of Sir Simon Bradstreet, Baronet; born 1745; M.P. for Kilkenny City 1776; succeeded 1779; married, 1768, Lady Henrietta Butler, daughter of Somerset, Earl of Carrick; died 1792.

^b Barry Barry, the Hon. Barry Maxwell, second son of John Baron Farnham and Judith, daughter and heiress of James Barry, of Newtownbarry, county of Wexford; born 1723; assumed the name of Barry on succeeding to the Wexford property; called to the Bar 1718; M.P. for county Cavan 1757, for borough Armagh 1761, again county Cavan 1768 and 1776; succeeded his brother as Baron Farnham 1779; created Viscount 1780; Earl of Farnham 1785; married, first, Margaret King, secondly, Grace Burdett; died 1800.

^c Brownlow, William, the Right Hon., only son of William Brownlow, of Lurgan, M.P., and Lady Elizabeth Hamilton, daughter of James, sixth Earl of Abecorn; born 1726; M.P. for county Armagh from 1753 to 1794; sworn of Privy Council 1767; married, first, 1751, Elizabeth, daughter of the Very Rev. C. Meredyth, Dean of Ardferth, secondly, 1765, Catherine Hall, daughter of Roger Hall; died 1794.

^d Montgomery, George, originally George Leslie, nephew to Alexander Montgomery, of Convoy, who left him his Cavan estate, when he assumed the surname of Montgomery; M.P. for county Cavan from 1770 to 1787; married Hannah Clements, sister to Robert Lord Leitrim; died 1782.

^e Neville, Richard, of Furnace, county Kildare; married Mary Barry; M.P. for Wexford 1768 to 1783.

Young Parnell,^a Sir Henry Hartstonge,^b James Browne,^c Sir Edward Newenham, John Stratford,^d Grattan (all opposition men for unanimity, except Grattan), Prime Sergeant, John Dillon,^e and Black Alexander Montgomery;^f the two last sometimes vote with Government, more often against them.

Thus this affair ended at that time. This day we had the Militia Bill, introduced by Ogle,^g who prefaced

^a Parnell, John, eldest son of the first Baronet Sir J. Parnell and Anne Ward; M.P. for Inistioge; succeeded his father 1782; M.P. for Queen's County 1788; appointed Commissioner of Revenue 1780; Chancellor of the Exchequer 1785; married, 1774, Letitia, daughter of Sir Arthur Brooke; died 1805.

^b Hartstonge, Sir Henry, Baronet; M.P. for county Limerick 1776 and 1783.

^c Browne, James, the Hon., fourth son of John, first Earl of Altamont and Ann, daughter of Sir A. Gore, Baronet; called to the Bar 1769; Prime Serjeant 1780; M.P. for Jamestown 1768; M.P. for Tuam 1776; M.P. for Castlebar 1783; died 1790.

^d Stratford, John, the Hon., second son of John, first Earl of Aldborough; succeeded his brother Edward, second Earl 1801; M.P. for Baltinglass 1768; M.P. for county Wicklow 1776 and 1783; married, 1777, Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Frederick Hamilton (the beautiful and witty Lady Aldborough); died 1823.

^e Dillon, John, M.P. for Wicklow 1768; M.P. for Blessington 1776.

^f Montgomery, Alexander. There were two of the same Christian and surname in Parliament, one M.P. for county Monaghan, the other for county Donegal. The designation of Black Alexander marked the latter.

^g Ogle, George, the Right Hon., son of George Ogle and Elizabeth Moore; born 1742; M.P. for the county of Wexford from 1770 to 1796, when he retired from public life; but in 1798, in compliance with a requisition to sit for the city of Dublin, he once more entered the House of Commons. He represented the city of Dublin again in the first Imperial Parlia-

it by saying that he thought (which is the general opinion) that independent companies, raised and commanded by individuals who can raise them would, at this juncture, answer best. The times are such, and the zeal of our countrymen is such, that this scheme will succeed ; 10,000, nay more, men may be raised on this emergency for internal defence and not to leave the kingdom, except in case of invasion in England. Thus we stand at present : the men may be had, nay further, every support will be given ; hold out, as soon as may be, encouragement to our trade, and anything may be done. We deserve it ; Lord North possesses the good opinion of this country, and I do most sincerely hope that he may take such measures as may make them look up to him.

Yours, &c.,

J. B.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ALLAN.

Dublin, April 4th, 1778.

MY DEAR ALLAN,—I am much pressed in time, but must acquaint you that this night the Speaker * sets out for London ; his purpose I cannot exactly say, but I ment ; appointed, 1784, Registrar of Deeds in Ireland, which he held until his death. Mr. Ogle was one of the earliest promoters of the Irish Volunteers, and one of their twelve general officers. He was a " strenuous advocate for the rights of the people," but at the same time a firm supporter of the Protestant Constitution in Church and State ; died 1814.

* The Speaker—Pery Edmond Sexton, the Right Hon., eldest son of the Rev. Stackpoole Pery and Jane Twigg ; born 1719 ; M.P. for Limerick 1760 to 1785 ; elected Speaker 1771 ; resigned 1785 ; created, 1785, Viscount Pery ; married, first, 1756, Katty Martin ; secondly, the Hon. Elizabeth Vesey, daughter of John Lord Knapton ; died 1806.

imagine that he thinks that some advantages in trade are to be given to Ireland, and he wishes that they may appear to flow from him; he will, I have no doubt, make many proposals, and push hard; but I hope whatever is done (and something will, I hope, be done as soon as it is possible), may appear to come directly from Lord North, so far as it may with propriety. You desire to know from me what the sanguine and what the moderate wish for. I cannot tell you what either expect, but I may say that I have as yet met with no man who can say what he expects or wishes for. If I were to tell you my own ideas, I should say that it would require time to think of and settle some well-digested plan of operation; that the English session is so far advanced, and the hurry of business of much more importance so great, and the system of the trade of Great Britain at this day so uncertain, that I fear nothing really useful and effectual can be done at this instant; but England must see we are their true and real support, and they must cultivate and enrich us for their own sakes. Mr. Flood also goes over; watch his and Pery's motions, and let me hear from you.

I will write again very soon.

Yours sincerely,

J. B.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ALLAN.

Dublin, April 27th, 1778.

MY DEAR ALLAN,—I came to town from Abbeville* this day, when I heard so many strange events that I

* Abbeville, Mr. Beresford's Villa, near Swords, in the county of Dublin, where he chiefly resided, being unable, while his atten-

am actually at a loss where to begin. Perhaps the most interesting to you may be to know the disgrace brought upon the navy of Great Britain by a dirty privateer of 18 guns, called, I think, the *Ranger*, commanded by a Scotchman of the name of Jones.* You have already heard of this vessel having come into Carrickfergus Bay, and dropped anchor by the *Drake* sloop-of-war of 20 guns, and of her retiring upon the *Drake's* firing at her. She kept at the mouth of the harbour for eighteen hours afterwards, then sailed for Whitehaven, where you have heard what she did, as also in Scotland. She then came back here to sail again into Belfast; but the *Drake* having gone out on a cruise, met her opposite to Donaghadee, where they engaged, and after thirty-eight hours, she took the *Drake*, having killed her captain, his clerk, and several men, and wounded Lieutenant Dobbs, a volunteer from Carrickfergus, and twenty-one men, shattered the masts and rigging of the *Drake*. She took also two vessels which she sank, and two others which she carried with her. She sailed north, with all her sails crowded, with her prizes, intending for Brest. Three frigates are, I understand, after her, the *Stag*, of whom she has just twenty-four hours' law, the *Boston*, and another, whose name I forget. I have strong hopes the *Stag* will overtake her, at least that she will come

tion to public business continued, to go to his country seat, Walworth, in the county of Londonderry.

* Paul Jones, a native of Scotland, settled in America, was given the command of a ship early in the American war by Congress, and with it committed ravages on the English and Irish coasts. Most notorious for his capture of the *Serapis* frigate, off Scarborough; died at Paris 1792.

up with the Drake, whose condition renders it quite impossible that she should sail with any expedition. Two days ago, every one was angry with the captain of the Drake ; he has paid his forfeit, poor man.

I am next to inform you that Mr. Maunsell,^a our Counsel, is dead, and that Frederick Flood^b is to succeed him. You know my connection with that family, and that as I shall recommend no one, I am, nor can be, no more interested in this appointment than so far as relates to Revenue, for which I am very sensible. I feel much more than I ought to do, considering that those who are much more interested will not take a decided and a proper part ; but I will freely own to you (whose connection with the late Sir Harry Cavendish I well know), that this appointment completes the law arrangements of the Revenue ! You remember old Harwood's^c observation, " that His Majesty, God bless him, was the best-natured man in his dominions ; he was taking always the worst lawyers in the nation to himself, and leaving the better ones for the defence of his subjects."

Adieu ! I shall write more soon, it is now near 12.

Yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

^a Maunsell, Thomas, M.P. for Kilmallock 1768 ; K.C. and Counsel to Board of Revenue.

^b Flood, Frederick, second son of John Flood, of Farnby, county Kilkenny, and Jane Crampton ; M.P. for Enniscorthy 1776, for Ardfert 1783, for county Wexford 1812 ; created Baronet 1780 ; married, first, Lady Juliana Annesley, secondly, Hon. Frances Cavendish ; died 1822.

^c Harwood, William, M.P. for Doneraile 1760 ; deservedly celebrated " for the acuteness of his understanding, his pleasantry," &c. (*Vide Hardy's Life of Charlemont.*)

MR. HERON TO MR. BERESFORD.

May 13th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—My Lord-Lieutenant will write to Lord North by a messenger, which goes off by the packet to-night; if you could write upon the present situation of this country, or the alarm we had yesterday, it might be of use.

Yours most sincerely,

RD. HERON.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ALLAN.

Dublin, May 25th, 1778.

MY DEAR ALLAN,—I am just come from dinner, now near eleven. The House sat until seven; the subject—the repeal of the Popery Laws, that is, that leave be given to bring in heads of a Bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, &c., the intention to follow what is done in England (send the Bill when passed). Gardiner introduced the motion very well; was seconded by Barry Barry, and supported by Langrishe,^a Mason,^b O'Hara,

^a Langrishe, Sir Hercules, son of Robert Langrishe and Jane Whitly; M.P. for Knocktopher 1764, 1768, 1776, 1783, 1790, and 1797; appointed Commissioner of Barracks 1766; Commissioner of Revenue 1775; created Baronet 1777; married Hannah Myhall; died 1811.

^b Mason, John Monck, the Right Hon., eldest son of Robert Mason, of Mason's Brook, county Galway, and Sarah Monck; M.P. for Blessington 1769, for St. Canice 1776 till the Union; appointed Commissioner of Barracks 1763, of Revenue 1770; Chairman of Committees 1785; married, 1766, Catherine Mitchell; died 1809.

Sheridan,^a Corry,^b Burgh, Ponsonby, Thomas Osborne, Sir William's son, Yelverton, and some others; and opposed by Ogle, Rowley,^c Jack Bourke,^d Robert Stewart,^e and one or two more, whose only argument

^a Sheridan, Charles F., eldest son of Thomas Sheridan, and brother of Richard Brinsley Sheridan; born 1750; called to the Bar 1780; appointed by the Duke of Portland Under-Secretary of War Department 1782, through the interest of his brother with the English Whigs; retained the appointment under successive Governments till 1789; Richard Brinsley Sheridan designated "that conduct as void of principle;" M.P. for Belturbet 1776, for Rathcormuck 1783.

^b Corry, Armar Lowry, eldest son of Galbraith Lowry, of Ahenis, M.P. for county Tyrone, and Mary Corry; M.P. for county Tyrone 1768 and 1776; married, first, 1772, Lady Margaret Butler, daughter of Somerset, Earl of Carrick; secondly, 1780, Lady Henrietta Hobart, daughter of John, second Earl of Buckinghamshire; thirdly, 1794, Mary Ann, daughter of Sir John Caldwell, Bart.; created, 1781, Baron Belmore; 1789, Viscount; 1797, Earl; died 1802.

^c Rowley, Hercules Langford, the Right Hon., son of Hercules Rowley and Frances Upton; born 1706; M.P. for county of Londonderry in three Parliaments, and afterwards for Meath; married, 1732, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Clotworthy Upton, who was created, 1766, Viscountess Langford; died 1794.

^d Bourke, John, eldest son of Richard Bourke, of Palmerston, in the county of Kildare, and Catherine Minchin; member for the borough of Naas in several Parliaments, viz. the Parliament of George II., and the two first of George III.; Commissioner of Revenue from 1749 till 1780; created, 1776, Baron Naas; 1781, Viscount Mayo; 1785, Earl of Mayo; married, 1725, Mary, daughter of Joseph Deane, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; died 1790.

^e Stewart, Robert, eldest son of Alexander Stewart, of Newtown Ards, M.P. for Londonderry, and Mary Cowan; born 1739; M.P. for county Down 1771 to 1783; created, 1789, Baron Stewart; 1795, Viscount Castlereagh; 1796, Earl of Londonderry; 1816, Marquis; married, first, 1766, Lady Sarah F. Seymour,

was, the late period of the session. The other side, I thought imprudently, went into the debate, and gave an opportunity to their opponents of being prepared ; on the whole, I think the appearance was in favour of the Bill strongly ; but the alarm has not had time to operate ; when it has, it will work. I think the passing dubious, but am inclined to imagine that, if Government interfere, it will be carried. Shannon inexorable, Ely^a doubtful, Charlemont^b and some others coming half way, willing to give property with the Gavel Clause. We wait for further proceedings for your Bill.

I had this day yours of the 18th and 19th, by which I find Lord North and Mr. Robinson think I was more alarmed than Heron. I wish they could have seen us both. He was certain of instant destruction, I only apprehended bad consequences, and I continue of the same opinion I was. The Export Bill, which will, I dare say, pass, will, I think, satisfy rational men here for the present, but, perhaps, not faction. There is a

daughter of Francis, first Marquis of Hertford ; secondly, 1776, Lady Frances Pratt, daughter of Charles, first Earl Camden ; died 1821 ; father to the celebrated Minister for Foreign Affairs.

^a Ely, Henry Loftus, fourth Viscount, second son of Nicholas, first Lord ; born 1709 ; succeeded his nephew 1769 ; created, 1771, Earl of Ely ; married, first, 1745, Frances Monroe ; secondly, 1775, Elizabeth Bonfoy ; died 1788.

^b Charlemont, James Caulfield, fourth Viscount, son of James, third Viscount, and Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Bernard, of Castle Bernard ; born 1728 ; succeeded 1734 ; went abroad in 1746 on a lengthened tour on the Continent and in the Mediterranean ; created, 1763, Earl ; married, 1768, Mary, daughter of Thomas Hickman ; died 1799. Distinguished as the general of the Irish Volunteers, and as the friend and patron of the eloquent Henry Grattan.

- disappointment; there is a general distress. If private dissatisfaction should work up disappointment, and inflame the distressed, it will go great lengths. Those Popery Bills will raise a flame with some; if the Militia Bill should not come over, it will operate with others. There is an amazing quantity of inflammable matter, and these subjects are lighted torches to clap to it; the storm may blow over, but remember it may not. And I again tell you that the minds of men are altered with regard to Great Britain, and you will see the consequences in time. I am not apt to take alarm, but must, however, draw conclusions from what I see and hear, from all hands, every hour. I have opportunities of knowing undisguised opinions, and I tell you there is a dangerous spirit afloat.

Yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Portman Square, Aug. 24th, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,—My intention was to have written you a more cheerful letter; Colonel Paterson^a came to me this day; Ann asked him immediately how her brother^b did. He replied with an expressive reserve, “very bad.” Ann was struck dumb. I caught the moment

^a Paterson, Colonel, Adjutant-General to the army in North America.

^b Montgomery, William Stone, eldest son of Sir William Montgomery, and only brother (uterine) of Lady Townshend and Mrs. Beresford; a major in the 40th Regiment; killed in America.

to turn the conversation, and catching him by the hand pinched him; and by a rapidity of military questions I took care to divert the subject. We had flattered ourselves with seeing him every day. He was a very gallant admired young man in the Army. I most sincerely lament his loss, and the distress of Sir William and my sisters. I have heard nothing of my aide-de-camp, who stayed to bring him over. They may be all prisoners ere long. 30,000 of the finest troops in the world and 20,000 sailors, with frigates, ordnance stores, &c., to erect America at once into a State and reduce Great Britain for a century. Besides the West-Indian Islands at the mercy of the French and the Spaniards, 7000 French troops and twenty-five Spanish ships of the line there, and about four months' provisions for our Army and none for the wretched inhabitants. Why these accumulated calamities? Are they the direct chastisement of Providence, or the results of an uninformed, superficial, and selfish Administration, who will hear only what flatters their hopes and turn aside from whatever is unpleasant or toilsome? Long they acted without one military man in the Cabinet; now they have taken one in, do they seem to have better information of the local circumstances of New York than they had of Boston? Could there be a doubt but that if the foolish commission of such heterogeneous Commissioners did not please, but that unless an amnesty was first opened, the enraged Americans would pursue our distressed and disappointed army,—then, what must be the next post, and next military situation! has that been considered? It is said that even Lord Howe

knew nothing of D'Estaing's Expedition but from the newspapers he received in America, nor did any of the gentlemen come from New York hear of Byron's squadron before they arrived at Falmouth. What! not a cutter to be spared to Lord Howe and Clinton with intelligence! or did the illustrious Ambassadors to America carry out to the General and Admiral all seasonable intelligence? By all the information I receive, the number of faithful and beggared American families which follow our fortunes there is innumerable. What a scene of horror as well as national disgrace. However, I hear that those who should know more appear much at their ease. The *Gazette* will, I hope, be more favourable than the public accounts, which certainly exaggerate. What I send you may be depended on.

Again, my dear relation, I must lament how deeply concerned I am that since I began writing this letter I must renew the melancholy subject. Just before dinner our dear Ann received letters from poor William, and I from Bloomfield. They gave hopes, and very affecting, expressive of the fine spirit and affection of the young man to her and to all his relations; thank God, she still thinks him living, and looks much better since—a proof of what she felt before, for you know she is silent and good; I shall continue the deception till she is fit for the melancholy news.

I heartily congratulate you on your alliance in your family; Clements* has before shown himself an excellent

* Clements, Theophilus Henry, the Right Hon., second son of the Right Hon. Nathaniel Clements and Hannah, daughter of

family man, and Kate has every stamp of Divine disposition and protection that can be expected from Heaven. Pray make my respectful compliments on the occasion.

There was a report to-day of Lord Shelburne's^a appointment to Ireland, Barre to the War Office, and the Lord-Lieutenant to the Master of the Horse—*non credo*,—though it be a time when nothing is impossible. I hope to see you soon, and that you will live with us. My affectionate love to the Barb and to your girls, and to all friends.

Yours affectionately,

TOWNSHEND.

LORD BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, LD.-LIEUT., TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin Castle, April 1st, 1779.

SIR,—Your known attachment to His Majesty's Government, and the very polite attention which I have received from you, must render all apology unnecessary for the contents of your letter. The vacancy occasioned by Mr. Tennison's^b death will not be filled up without

the very Rev. William Gore, Dean of Down; born 1734; M.P. for county Leitrim in several parliaments; Deputy Vice-Treasurer of Ireland; brother to Robert, first Earl of Leitrim; married, first, Mary, daughter and heiress of General Webb; secondly, 1778, Catherine, eldest daughter of the Right Hon. John Beresford; died 1795.

^a Shelburne, William Petty Fitzmaurice, second Earl of; succeeded Lord Rockingham as Prime Minister in 1782, and was displaced by the Coalition between Lord North and C. J. Fox; created, 1784, Marquis of Lansdowne; died 1805.

^b Tennison, Thomas, Justice of Common Pleas; died 1779.

some deliberation. I am fully informed that Mr. Fitz Gibbon's^a character and ability are held in the highest estimation, and his appearance and manner greatly prejudice in his favour, but it may be rather wished for the present that this matter should sleep.

With respect to Mr. Wolfe^b it is impossible for me to mention more than my inclination in general to attend to the wishes of Lord Tyrone.

Let me flatter myself that your complaint is sensibly relieved, and that it may soon be permitted me personally to assure you of that particular regard with which

I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

BUCKINGHAM.

^a Fitz Gibbon, John, the Right Hon., only son of John Fitz Gibbon of Mount Shannon, county Limerick (himself an eminent barrister), and Elinor Grove; born 1749; called to the bar 1772; Attorney-General 1783; appointed Lord Chancellor 1789; M.P. for University 1778; for Kilmallock 1783; created, 1789, Baron Fitz Gibbon; 1793, Viscount; 1795, Earl of Clare; English Peer 1799; married, 1786, Anne, daughter of Richard Whaley; died 1802.

^b Wolfe, Arthur, the Right Hon., eldest son of John Wolfe, of county Kildare; born 1739; called to the bar 1766; Solicitor-General 1787; Attorney-General 1789; succeeded Lord Clonmel as Chief Justice 1798; M.P. for Coleraine 1783; for Jamestown 1790; created, 1798, Viscount Kilwarden; married, 1769, Anne, daughter of William Ruxton, of Ardee. Lord Kilwarden was barbarously murdered by a body of insurgents in 1803, who were excited to riot and rebellion by Emmett, as he entered the liberties on his road to attend a council in Dublin Castle.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL * TO MR. ROBINSON.

Harcourt Street, April 13th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—This kingdom is in such a state as puzzles all comprehension as to what it may do; a multitude of idlers miserably poor; a debt, small as it is, without a shilling to pay interest; the skeleton of a force not in His Majesty's service, which it may be difficult to deal, or madness to meddle with; taxes to be imposed and no material for imposition; a great deal of ignorance; a great deal of prejudice; a most ——— overgrown hierarchy, and a most oppressed peasantry; property by some late determinations of the Lords upon covenants for perpetual renewals of leases very much set at sea, and no means to a multitude of families to supply its place; rents fallen, and a general disposition to riot and mischief. I think, in next session, Administration will be often beaten, though I really think Lord Bucks an honest, faithful servant of the Crown, and his Secretary a faithful servant to His master. Come what will, you shall hear of me at the right side, and though I should never look you again in the face, I will not run away.

This lessening of the military pay on our establish-

* The Attorney-General—John Scott, the Right Hon., second son of Michael Scott and Miss Purcell; born 1739; called to the bar 1765; appointed Counsel to Revenue Board 1772; Solicitor-General 1774; Attorney-General 1777; removed 1782; Prime Serjeant 1783; Chief Justice of King's Bench, 1784; M.P. for Mullingar in two parliaments to 1783; for Port Arlington 1783; created Lord Earlsfort 1784; Viscount 1789; Earl of Clonmell 1793; married, first, 1768, Catharine Mathew, widow of Philip Roe; secondly, 1779, Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Patrick Lawless, Bart., a banker in Dublin; died 1798.

ment is a substantial benefit, but people will not be satisfied ; I think, if you like, you may make an union out of these discontents, but not at the present moment, nor in the present situation of men's minds here.

My Lord North has done for us, I suppose, all that it was possible for him to do ; he has certainly ventured further for Ireland than any former minister, but for the sake of England, Ireland must be turned to better account to it.

A reform in the revenue is in contemplation ; I have Beresford's ideas upon it, and in a difficult speculative scheme, I think his plan plausible, and, if vigorously pursued, practicable ; but not without the decided support of the Castle, and assistance also from your side of the water, but with every aid I think our supplies will be difficult.

My dear Sir, your most sincerely and much obliged
humble servant,

JOHN SCOTT.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, July 31st, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—We arrived safe here on Thursday. Yesterday morning a Castle messenger brought me a summons to the country, to attend at the Castle at eleven o'clock ; I went, and found there a meeting of the Lord-Lieutenant, the Chancellor,* Speaker,

* James Hewett, Lord Lifford, son of a gentleman in Warwickshire ; born 1709 ; called to the English bar ; Serjeant-at-law 1754 ; appointed Judge of the King's Bench 1766 ; promoted to be Lord Chancellor of Ireland 1768 ; created Baron Lifford 1768 ; Viscount 1781 ; married, 1748, Ann, daughter of Dr. Rice Williams ; died 1789.

Provost,^a Prime Sergeant, Attorney and Solicitor-General,^b Theophilus Clements, Col. Burton,^c and Mr. Foster.^d The Chancellor opened the business by saying, that in consequence of what had passed at a meeting of the same gentlemen the preceding day, and of the papers, &c.,

^a The Provost—The Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, son of Francis Hely, of Gortroe, county Cork, and Miss Earbery; born 1724; called to the bar 1748; appointed Prime Serjeant 1762; Provost 1774; Secretary of State 1777; M.P. for Lanesborough 1759; for Cork 1761 till 1790; and M.P. for Taghmon from 1790 till his death; married, 1751, Christine, daughter of Lorenzo Nixon, (and niece of and heiress to Richard Hutchinson, of Knocklofty, county Tipperary,) who was created, 1783, Baroness Donoughmore; died 1794.

^b Solicitor-General—Hugh Carleton, son of a merchant at Cork; born 1739; called to the bar 1764; appointed Solicitor-General 1779; Chief Justice of Common Pleas 1787; M.P. for Tuam 1768; for Philipstown 1776; for Naas 1783; created, 1789, Baron Carleton; 1797, Viscount; married, first, Elizabeth Mercer; secondly, Mary Mathew; died 1826. The schoolfellow and early friend of John Scott, Lord Clonmell.

^c Burton, William, Colonel, the Right Hon., second son of the Right Hon. Francis Burton, M.P., Teller of the Exchequer, and Mary, daughter of Lieutenant-General Conyngham; born 1733; assumed the name of Conyngham on succeeding his uncle at Stane Castle; M.P. for Newtown Limavaddy 1768; for Ennis 1776; for Killebegs 1783; for Ennis 1790; Comptroller of Barracks 1775; Teller of the Exchequer 1777; Vice-Admiral of Ulster, Brother of Francis, Lord Conyngham; died, unmarried, 1796.

^d Foster, John, the Right Hon., eldest son of Anthony Foster, Chief Baron of Exchequer, and Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Burgh; born 1740; married, 1764, Margaretta, daughter of Thomas Burgh, of Birt, who was created Baroness Oriel 1790, and Viscountess Ferrard 1797; appointed Customer and Collector of the Port of Dublin 1779; elected Speaker of the House of Commons, 1785 (in succession to E. Sexton Pery; created Viscount Pery), continued till the Union; Privy Councillor in England 1786; M.P. for county Louth 1788, and afterwards, till created Baron Oriel 1821; died 1828.

laid before them, he had drawn up in writing his opinion upon the question proposed to them, which he read and submitted to the rest as a general opinion to concur in. The Speaker differed a little from him, and had drawn up an opinion for himself; the Provost produced a third; and the Prime Sergeant a fourth; which last seemed to come nearest to all their opinions; was first altered by each tacking his favourite sentence to it, and then adopted by them all. This opinion will be sent to you, and will speak for itself; the beginning is Burgh's; the Chancellor put two or three ideas into the centre, mentioning the purposes for which money was wanting (*viz.* the defence of the kingdom), and the Speaker added the conclusion (*viz.* not presuming, &c.). As the purpose for which I was summoned was not specified in the letter summoning me, I knew not upon what subject it was until I came into the Castle, when Sir Richard Heron told me that the meeting was to consider whether the Parliament should meet, or not, as soon as might be; but when the opinions began to be delivered, I found the question narrowed to what you will find in the opinion sent you, and the debate was, which was the most eligible, the getting the sum necessary from you, or calling the Parliament and taking the chance of getting it from them. I took the liberty of saying a very few words; that as I had come in only at the end of the business, without knowing upon what subject I was called, as I had not seen the papers mentioned by the Chancellor, nor any others, I must beg leave to decline subscribing to any opinion suddenly, upon a subject which every one had declared, after long consideration, to be a very delicate one. On this, Sir Richard

Heron began to explain to me what had been laid before the meeting the day before, and in doing it, he slipped out more of Lord North's letter than he had done the day before; for the letter was not produced, only such part stated as Sir Richard thought proper. I just mentioned that, if what Sir Richard stated were the words of the letter, I thought the question before us did not reach them; on which the Speaker took fire, and said that he would have it understood that his opinion was given on the precise question stated to them by His Excellency, and if there was to be any new question, he would probably give a very different opinion; on which His Excellency said, that the letter was a private one to him, and that the only question on which he desired the opinion of any man was that stated in the paper drawn by the Prime Sergeant, and pointed his words, which were delivered in wrath, at Sir Richard, and here ended the business.

A great deal of collateral matter arose which I have not time now to tell you, but shall by the next packet, if possible.

Yours most sincerely,

J. B.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, August 2nd, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—I mentioned to you in my last that some collateral matter had arisen in the course of a late debate of which I would give you an account; it was

on the subject of indulgences to our trade, which became a part of the debate when the consequences of calling on Parliament were mentioned. It would answer no purpose to state particularly everything that was said; it is enough to tell you that the sentiments which I heard were sufficient to convince me that it will be a matter of extreme difficulty to bring some people into any degree of moderation upon this subject; and that a free trade in the present situation of things is what is intended to be pushed for, and for that purpose general associations will be promoted, and carried against the consumption of British goods, the consequences of which would be very serious; and if such a measure should once take place, it will be very difficult, if at all possible, let what will be the result of our differences, ever to get back that trade which may be thus diverted from you.

When Parliament shall meet, you are to expect great violence, and, unless something shall be settled beforehand, I fear it will be too late to enter into the subject at such a time, and with men labouring under strong prejudice, and that guided, in many instances, by the various influences of a popular assembly. The country is arming from one end to the other; county meetings are now publicly advertised for the purpose of raising independent companies, and, in some late meetings, it has been resolved, that each barony shall raise a company or a regiment, as they shall be able. This is the present situation of things, and I tell you fairly, as I have done from the beginning, that unless your Administration

will turn your most serious attention to this country, in its present most alarming situation, that the consequences will go further than you may possibly imagine.

I shall endeavour to promote, as far as in my power, some scheme of moderation in point of further indulgences in trade, because I think that only can advantage both kingdoms. It would be of great use to me to know exactly what are the opinions of individuals on this subject, and what arguments they bring in support of a free trade, in order to see what foundation they stand on. If, therefore, there was no objection, I should be very glad to see the opinions transmitted to Lord Weymouth's office on this subject.

You may remember that I told you that His Excellency's Ministers would forsake him ; last Thursday Mr. Burgh waited upon him, and desired not to be any longer considered as being *confidential*, and he now everywhere declares opposition. On the same day, Mr. Foster, our new Customer in the Port of Dublin, charged, upon an entry of rum from Scotland, one third additional custom, under the proviso added at the end of the Act of Customs, after the Table of Fees ; this has brought the question to a point, for the merchant has appealed to the Board ; we referred to the crown lawyers, and have got the opinion of Prime Sergeant, Attorney and Solicitor-General, and our own counsel, declaring Scotland liable to this duty. I have directed that as this is a matter of a new imposition, in which the trade of Great Britain is concerned, that the whole should be

stated and sent to the Lords of the Treasury. In the meantime the duty is charged.

I am, my dear Sir, ever most sincerely, your affectionate and very humble Servant,

J. BERESFORD.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin Castle, 20th August, 1779.

SIR,—Your information respecting the Prime Sergeant is in some degree true. He has declared against being leader in the next session, and offered to resign. He will, he says, act as a sworn judge, in any question respecting the interests of Ireland. He complains of want of confidence, which he considers as a release from the office of leader he had undertaken, and as leaving him entitled to act agreeably to his own inclinations, which he says are averse to public business. My Lord-Lieutenant did not consult him in the late law arrangements. Mr. Waite* having received a letter from the Attorney-General, recommending Mr. Carleton for the office of Solicitor-General in the strongest terms, His Excellency thought it better to make his arrangements immediately than to wait the being embarrassed by contrary opinions. And as my representations to Lord North did not produce what might enable His Excellency to communicate much upon the subject of

* Waite, Thomas, the Right Hon., Secretary to the Lords Justices, when they existed in conjunction with a Lord-Lieutenant. On their abolition, appointed Under-Secretary, Civil Department. Sworn of Privy Council 1777; died 1780.

giving extension to the trade of Ireland, which the Prime Sergeant deemed necessary to enable this Government to carry through the business of the next session, he imputed it to reserve towards him. His Excellency has not thought it for His Majesty's service to accept his offer of resigning. There is great reason to believe that if, in any question respecting the trade of Ireland, he shall as an Irishman take a part which Government would not wish, that he will do it with moderation, and that in all other business he will give his best assistance to Government.

The Attorney-General also declines taking the lead. He declined the offer of being the leader before my Lord-Lieutenant ever engaged with the Prime Sergeant for the conduct of business; but the Attorney will in every other respect give, as usual, his best assistance. Mr. Foster will likewise do all he can to support the Government, and will, I believe, prove a very able and steady servant of the Crown. I need not mention Mr. Beresford's readiness or ability. And His Excellency will endeavour to obtain as much assistance from the Provost as the opinion entertained of him, and the disinclination other gentlemen have to act with him, will allow. Mr. Flood remains in the country. These circumstances, the unusual sum of money now wanted, the low state of the Revenue, and the general distress of the kingdom, considered together, give great reason to apprehend a very difficult session. It will, however, be my Lord-Lieutenant's utmost endeavour that the affairs of this kingdom may embarrass His Majesty and his British servants as little as possible. But the state

of Ireland having been taken up by the British Parliament, and by His Majesty, it seems impossible to prevent its becoming the subject of discussion in the Parliament of Ireland.

I have assured the Speaker, every servant of the Crown, and every other gentleman of weight I have had the opportunity of speaking to, that if there are any measures which look like an intention of forcing concessions, Great Britain will consider it as an insult, and certainly will not grant anything. That if the expectations of Ireland go to the extent of a free trade, nothing will be obtained; that no extension of any value can be given without the exertion of Government, nor without occasioning great discontent in many parts of England; and, therefore, unless Ireland is likely to be satisfied with reasonable extensions, they may be assured His Majesty's servants will preserve good-humour at home by not giving their support to any, and that the gentlemen of this country will have the ill humours they excite to pacify, or the kingdom will go into a state of confusion, which cannot but have very serious consequences to all gentlemen who possess property here.

At the same time, it is proper to consider whether it may not be prudent that some friend of Government should take the lead, in order to moderate their resolutions; lest by waiting the measures of Opposition, they should get possession of the subject, and propose such measures as may distress English Government and encourage the attempts of France and Spain. I presume His Excellency will submit this question, with his plan

for the speech, to the consideration of Lord North and His Majesty's servants.

The giving us 50,000*l.* in our exigences was very wisely done; but if your Parliament does not follow this kindness with some substantial commercial advantages, this country will, if the war and its present establishment continue, be bankrupt in a very short time. No efforts here can prevent it. Ireland always had a great export; they smuggled their coarse woollens to America, and they will be smuggled there again whenever we are so happy as to have a peace. Nothing less than the navy of England, so is this country situated, could prevent it—the war does, which is one great cause of distress. Ireland is certainly a great kingdom; but the idea of its supporting, upon the gleanings of commerce (for such only it can carry on during a war), its continual drains to Great Britain, and a military establishment sufficient to defend itself, is certainly ill-founded. Prepare, therefore, to give handsomely, but upon proper terms, some material extension of their commerce. Whatever commerce this kingdom carries on legally will prejudice yours less than their carrying it on, as they have hitherto done, illicitly. But, whether you give or refuse, do it immediately upon the meeting of Parliament; for be assured that delay will tend to confusion.

It is also certain that many persons are arming here. What may be the intentions of some, it is impossible to say. Without doubt, there are those who wish confusion, and hope the distresses of this country may produce it. But there is every reason to believe that the generality

of persons who arm at this time, do it with a sincere intention of opposing the enemy if an invasion should take place ; or at least to prevent mischief from our own people, which in such an event could not, without an associated force, be maintained in this kingdom, where the lower orders of every religion, from their extreme wretchedness, having in many places no food but potatoes and buttermilk, and frequently nothing but water, are very likely to become troublesome at such a crisis. The great and known preparations in France for invading this kingdom, and the measures my Lord-Lieutenant found it necessary to take, upon advices from Lord North and Lord Weymouth, although conducted with all possible caution, occasioned so great an alarm and such apprehensions amongst all persons here, that, comparing their small military force with that which is in England, they cannot think it sufficient to protect them against the force supposed to be intended for the attack of Ireland ; and therefore, although it is impossible to say that these armaments may not be attended with inconvenience, it is also, under these circumstances, impossible to prevent them. Lord North will have heard that many of the officers of these corps applied for commissions, with a view to protection against ill-treatment from the enemy, in the event of their becoming prisoners ; and His Excellency is taking measures for laying properly before His Majesty this proposition, which he hopes may lead to the bringing these bodies into use until this kingdom can bear the expense of a militia, which would be, on all accounts, of great service here.

We are very busy in forming schemes of new taxes for Lord North's consideration. His Lordship may be assured of the utmost exertion to convince this country of the necessity of providing for its own defence. Concessions in commerce would, I believe, stimulate them to extraordinary efforts for their defence and the support of Great Britain, and would break those combinations for wearing their own manufactures, the continuance of which for any time must prove very injurious to those of England.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

RD. HERON.

MR. ALLAN TO MR. BERESFORD.

[October, 1779.]

MY DEAR SIR,—You will probably receive this letter by a messenger who carries despatches to His Excellency. I came from Bushy this morning with Lord North, in his chaise, and had a full and explicit conversation with him on the affairs of Ireland. I read to him that *part* of your letter to me of the 11th, which was exceeding proper, and had its effect. I expect before I close this to tell you that either Mr. Robinson or myself will receive directions to write you confidentially. I fear their determination will be too late to stop insertions in the Address. I hope we have friends enough to prevent anything personal to my Lord; I stated to him that after the Address was disposed of, there was always an ad-

jourment to give time for the public accounts, during which they might still form some plan.

In the meantime if you, Scott, and, I think, Lord Shannon would join in making the Address as general as you can, until the meeting of the British Parliament, it would be well taken here. Speak to Godfrey Greene,* tell him if he expects his brother to be served, he must not join in anything personally against Lord North; they now see who are their friends, I fear too late to have effect. I write this from Parliament Street. The Cabinet are sitting above-stairs on Irish affairs. Lord North carries me back to Richmond. Yours ever,

T. ALLAN.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, October 11th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—I this day received your letter by the messenger; I am not at this hour very proper for business, having lost this day a very amiable child; however, I cannot delay to acknowledge your letter, and to assure you that your friendship and confidence shall never be misplaced in me, and that you may depend upon it, that so far as either my interest or abilities reach, I shall most steadily support (what I consider as the true interest of this country) the general interest of the empire; I shall say no more on that subject at present.

* Godfrey Greene, Esq. A gentleman of property in the county of Waterford, and several times M.P. for Dungarvan.

On Saturday last I sent over a copy of the Address to His Majesty, which is intended for to-morrow, as also the one to His Excellency, which I hope you have received. I flatter myself it will go down, though I expect amendments will be proposed. The terms are general, and bind down to no specific measure or mode. It is resolved to move immediately after the Addresses for a Committee of the whole House to consider of *the distressed and impoverished state of the nation*—the words of the resolution of your House of Commons; Mr. Foster to be the Mover and Chairman; the Committee to sit on the 1st of November, to which day we are to move an adjournment from Thursday next, which I make no doubt we shall carry easily, so that there will be time enough to arrange matters, which I hope may be done as soon and as firmly as may be. You shall hear again from me, probably by the messenger who goes off on Wednesday, more fully; in the meantime, believe me,

Ever yours most affectionately,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Oct. 19th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—In my letter of the 11th, I informed you that I had sent over copies of the Addresses intended, and had informed you of what had been resolved upon at a meeting held that day at the Castle—viz. that, immediately after the Addresses had passed, Mr. Foster should move for a Committee of the whole House to *consider of the distressed and impoverished state of the*

nation, to sit upon the 1st of November, to which day it was meant to adjourn; this was intended in order to pre-occupy the ground, and to get possession of the Committee, where the subject of trade was to be agitated, which could have been managed in a manner conformable to such directions as were received from you during this long recess.

The persons who composed this meeting were the Primate,^a Chancellor, Archbishops of Dublin^b and Cashel,^c Speaker, Provost, Lord Chief Justice Paterson,^d Sir Richard Heron, Attorney and Solicitor Generals, Burton, Clements, Foster, and myself: they all seemed confident that the Addresses as worded and this Committee would satisfy gentlemen; and the Speaker seemed to say that he would settle it with some of the Opposition leaders. Under this impression we met yesterday, and entered

^a Richard Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh, sixth son of William Robinson and Ann Walters. Came over as Chaplain to the Duke of Dorset 1751; consecrated Bishop of Ferns 1759; Kildare 1761; Archbishop of Armagh 1765; created, 1777, Baron Rokeby; died 1795.

^b Robert Fowler, Archbishop of Dublin. An English clergyman who came over with Lord Harcourt as chaplain, and was consecrated Bishop of Killaloe 1771; translated to Dublin 1778; died 1801.

^c Charles Agar, Archbishop of Cashel, third son of Henry Agar and Ann Ellis. Born 1736; Dean of Kilmore 1766; consecrated Bishop of Cloyne 1768; Archbishop of Cashel 1779; Archbishop of Dublin 1801; married, 1776, Jane Benson; created, 1795, Baron Somerton; Viscount 1800; Earl of Normanton 1806; died 1809.

^d The Right Hon. Marcus Paterson. Called to the bar 1742; Serjeant 1757; Solicitor-General 1764; Chief Justice of Common Pleas 1770; died 1787.

upon the business of the Addresses, when such a scene ensued as I never before saw in our House of Commons.

Mr. Grattan arose and made a most violent speech, in which he drew a deplorable picture of the miseries of this country, which he attributed wholly to the tyranny of England, against which country, without descending to particular persons, he made a most virulent invective; he then abused Ministers here, excepting in some degree His Excellency; he next abused the House, called upon the mob to do themselves justice; then praised the armed associations, in one of which he is captain, and called upon them to destroy such Members as should oppose his motion, and in short said everything he could to inflame people both within and without the House: he concluded by an amendment to the Address, very long and complicated, stating our distresses and recommending the opening our ports for all our exports; this was battled for a long time, and Mr. Foster, as an argument against it, mentioned his intention of moving for a Committee: the debate then turned upon, which was the properer mode, the amendment or the Committee; at length the Prime Serjeant arose, and in order, as he said, to reconcile all parties, proposed another amendment in the place of Grattan's, viz. "that we entreated His Majesty to be assured that it was not from temporary expedients we could be relieved, but by a free trade alone the impending ruin of this kingdom can be prevented," or words to this amount.

After a very long debate, in which Sir Richard Heron spoke twice against this amendment, our forces began to give way; Mr. Grattan had adhered to his motion,

Mr. Burgh to his own ; Mr. Conolly, who had opposed Grattan, then proposed to vote for Burgh's, as being quite mild and unexceptionable, in case Grattan withdrew his—now Grattan's request was an export, Burgh's a free trade—the former was withdrawn. Then Mr. Flood spoke in favour of the amendment strongly, and recommended unanimity in whatever was done ; unanimity then became the theme, and, to procure it, one after another the Castle forces deserted, and declared for the amendment, until Sir Richard was left with the Attorney and Solicitor General, myself, and about twenty Members ; he stuck out thus for a considerable time, most of those who would have voted with him teasing him to give up. In justice to Sir Richard Heron upon this occasion, I must assure you that there was no possibility (after the business came into debate) of stopping this question from being carried, as there was, I may say, almost a total desertion of his troops ; and although I would not say so to him, yet I cannot see any material service he could have done to the English Government, either by dividing the House, or giving a negative—his not doing so may enable him the better to resist further attacks ; I cannot, therefore, think him in fault in his conduct in the House upon this occasion ; but, my dear Sir, the cause of the difficulty we are now in is more remote, and you will do me the justice to confess I have repeatedly told you of it, and I now repeat it again—that, from a mistaken and weak policy, the strength of English Government has been totally annihilated in this country, by the Administration of His present Excellency. I say a mistaken policy, because it would be injustice in

me to attribute it to design ; I entirely acquit His Excellency of the most remote intentional impropriety ; I am certain he meant well, and that he was persuaded that he could carry on the government of this country upon a system diametrically opposite to that used by his predecessors, but such vain notions have brought him into the situation he is in at present.

On the arrival of His Excellency here, he found English Government in possession of a very large majority in the House of Commons, and that majority well trained and disciplined ; he found them led by men who were well inclined to Government, and who had been used to conduct these forces. His private connections led him to other men, and they led him to other measures. They persuaded him that the majority obtained by Lords Townshend and Harcourt (against both of whose Administrations these new Ministers were violent), had cost the nation an immense sum, that it was to be governed by other and cheaper means ; that those persons connected with the former Administrations were not to be trusted, but that every dependence was to be had upon men of virtue and integrity ; and that the Houses of Parliament were to be governed by the appearance of public economy in the chief Governor, and every man left to himself. The consequence has been, that this session of Parliament has opened, leaving His Excellency (as I often foretold to you), without a single friend. His patriotic Minister has deserted him just before the campaign (for reasons, perhaps, not altogether disinterested) ; his former confidential friends and advisers are now his open opponents ; that popularity

obtained through his folly is made use of against Government and himself; the Members of Parliament left to themselves, unspoken to and ungratified, have many of them stayed in the country, and those who did attend have voted or declared that they would vote against him, and he is left totally destitute. There were yesterday in the House but 164 Members, 101 of whom he reckoned upon; but when the division came, he could not command 20, and most of these the friends of a few individuals, not his.

This is the state of Parliament at this day, in which English Government have everything at stake in this country. But this state is made more critical by the situation of the country. Twenty thousand men in arms, under no restraint of Government, having principles of independence within themselves, and being headed by men in general adverse to Government, and who take pains to instil into them their own doctrines, are circumstances of no small danger. Believe me, that what I have from the beginning warned you of is not far distant; the spirit of the people is roused, both of the better sort and the lower; the real character of the Irish is to be patient and slow under what they think oppression; but when roused they are rash, violent, and persevering; no danger will deter them, nor hardship subdue them; and believe me, the period is now come in which they are ready to go any lengths. I saw this growing long since, and warned you to send over here a man able to conduct both the civil and military government of this country. I know not now what to advise: anything of violent measures, I fear, will precipitate

matters ; but believe me that the weakness of the present Government can never disembarass you. When I say this, you must see I give an honest opinion, for I give you one diametrically opposite to my own private interest. My brother* is now First Chaplain, and in course next, by promise of His Excellency, to a bishopric ; I myself, you know, am interested in the plan he means to put into execution for the Revenue ; but no consideration can induce me to conceal a truth on the knowledge of which may depend the happiness, nay, the existence, of both countries.

I see Opposition will court the armed Independents, what other steps they will take I know not ; but I dread, that unless some strong steps are taken, they will carry a short Money Bill until the 25th of March. A demand is now made for a free trade, and I cannot tell the consequence of a denial ; were I to give an opinion upon the subject of such a trade, I should say without scruple, that it could not injure England under proper revenue regulations, but it could not be carried on here except through Great Britain ; we have no ships, no assortments, no capitals, no correspondences, nor any means to carry on trade except through England, where a large share of the profits of all our trade would be arrested in its progress, and where ultimately the whole would centre. But not to enter into such a field at present, I entreat you to be cautious in your answer

* The Hon. and Rev. William Beresford, third son of Marcus, Earl of Tyrone ; born 1743 ; consecrated Bishop of Dromore 1780 ; translated to Ossory 1782 ; Archbishop of Tuam 1795 ; created Lord Decies 1808 ; married, 1763, Elizabeth FitzGibbon, sister of first Earl of Clare ; died 1819.

to the present demand, and if those people are to remain here, nothing short of commands will direct them in the right way; you must give explicit directions, and let them know you expect they should be executed, to do which they must communicate with the members of both Houses, and know beforehand their own strength.

On all occasions you may command the services of,
dear Sir, your affectionate and very humble servant,

J. BERESFORD.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 13th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—Your messenger arrived yesterday in the evening with your despatch, inclosing copies of Lord North's letter to my Lord-Lieutenant of the 5th of October, and the additional memorandums. His Excellency has written by the same messenger to Lord North, and has enclosed the copy of an official despatch to Lord Weymouth, stating the disagreeable proceedings of yesterday in the House of Commons. As everything which passed is circumstantially stated in that despatch, I have only to express my great concern that the business took so unfavourable a turn, and that my Lord-Lieutenant's utmost endeavours were not able to resist the general disposition of this country upon the subject of commerce. The Lords have, I understand, to-day concurred in the amendment made by the Commons, but as it passed in the Committee of the Lords, to which we have no access, and I was engaged in the House of

Commons, I have not had the opportunity of informing myself particularly of what passed in the Committee. For the Commons, Mr. Conolly moved to-day for the thanks of the House to the Volunteer corps, which none of the servants of the Crown in that House thought it prudent to resist, and, therefore, though a very disagreeable motion, it passed unanimously. The Duke of Leinster has given notice that he shall make the same motion to-morrow in the House of Lords. The ill effects of this motion seem, however, to be in some degree taken off by the terms of the Address to my Lord-Lieutenant. I cannot conclude without observing that the difficulties of Government, from the low state of the revenue, the distress of individuals, and the general dissatisfaction of the nation against the restrictions upon their commerce, are such that it is impossible to say how His Excellency will be able to resist such measures as may be proposed for reducing the expenses of Government, or for supporting the expectations of a very extensive commerce.

Inclosed is a copy of the Commons' Address to my Lord-Lieutenant.

I am, dear Sir, your most faithful and obedient
humble servant,

R. HERON.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO MR. ROBINSON.

Harcourt Street, Oct. 15th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—Sir Richard Heron sent to me this morning, and with many marks of mortification and

sincerity, stated his opinion, that the late outrageous indecencies of Mr. Conolly and the Duke of Leinster sprung from his Grace of Richmond,* and that the hostility of that squadron was directed at Lord North's Administration; that Lord Buckingham, as a man of honour, felt himself wounded; that His Excellency was determined to support Lord North's Administration with integrity and zeal, and wished to take the advice of Lord North's friends here for that purpose; in answer to which, I drew up a little, and said, I supposed His Excellency's and Lord North's friends were the same; that the friends of either were supporters of the King's Government, and as such they could not differ. Sir Richard said he wished to know the opinions of Mr. Beresford and myself as to what it became His Excellency to do on this distraction, occasioned by Mr. Burgh and his patron the Duke of Leinster.

I told him His Excellency's displeasure should instantly be notified, in the most public manner, at the conduct of those deserters; that all the followers of Administration should be made acquainted with His Excellency's disapprobation, that people may not suspect him of insincerity; that all those who had served under Lord Harcourt's Administration, or Lord Townshend's, should be called on; that Lord North should instantly be made acquainted with the state of men and

* Charles Lennox, third Duke of Richmond, son of Charles, second Duke, and Lady Sarah Cadogan; born 1735; succeeded 1750; appointed Ambassador to France 1765; Master-General of the Ordnance 1782; again, 1783 to 1795, a Field-Marshal; married, 1757, Lady Mary Bruce, daughter of Charles, Earl of Aylesbury; died 1806.

things here ; and His Majesty's pleasure had as to such arrangement as might be proper, as rewards and punishments.

He, with great apparent anxiety, desired to meet the Archbishop of Cashel at my house, Beresford being out of town. His Grace, being very sturdy and zealous, as well as spirited and sensible, attended, and during a conference of six hours, this day, in which Sir Richard seemed fairly to state the treachery of those people, and his earnest wish to act as a man of honour, it was my advice, the Archbishop concurring, that during the session the opposers in office should not be disturbed, to prevent the tumult that must arise from turning men out for supporting popular opinions, and the mischief that those men might make at this moment, if considered by the country as victims to the prosperity of Ireland ; but that he (Sir Richard), with the consent of English Ministry, might deal with such men as were foremost in opposition upon a solemn assurance of their stepping into the shoes of those persons now abusing their stations, on the last day of the session, by which the present possessors might be muzzled a little, and the assistance of others rendered less suspected. Those who occurred to me of ability and weight were Mr. Daly, Mr. Fitz Gibbon, Mr. James Brown, Mr. Corry, Mr. Bushe, and a few others of inferior name. I did not mention Mr. Grattan or Mr. Yelverton, because the first is the dependant and inveterate adherent of Lord Charlemont, the second, Mr. Yelverton, a man, in my opinion, so rooted in habits of republicanism, of American opposition, and chained down by strong, coarse, and decided

gainers by repealing every restrictive law made since the Act of Navigation? The laws which the Irish complain of, counteracted by smuggling, did not operate here with any effect until the American troubles, and as soon as they are expunged from your statute book, the influence of them will vibrate here until America is either lost or restored; it is but by the wealth and merchants of England that Ireland can avail herself of a free trade, and Englishmen for the use of England will alone become rich by it, if this relaxation should have any effect, which, for fifty years, I much doubt; however, in the moment of their triumph and imagined acquisition, the Irish Parliament and the Irish nation will go further in their zeal than you desire them; they will either lay down their arms and association to grow industrious, or they will use them as you think proper under the regulation of any law that can be suggested to bring them within the Sovereign's grasp; on the contrary, rely on it, this business untowardly or negligently conducted, you will see this kingdom follow America step by step until we are all undone: I am putting all into one bottom with you, and it would be treachery not to tell you what I am convinced will happen unless prevented by wisdom.

If His Excellency or his Secretary from timidity or cunning should turn fools or rascals, you will have early notice of it, and you will instantly demolish them; at present I imagine, without additional expense in patronage or management, that we shall scramble through in peace and in the usual way, but all is with *you*. Having no other *serious* correspondent in England but yourself,

I shall omit nothing which I think worth your knowing, and I shall endeavour to convince you how truly and sincerely I am, my dear Sir, yours, &c.,

JOHN SCOTT.

The people talk sedition and write treason everywhere. I have recommended to Sir Richard Heron to take off an able writer amongst them; but if prosecutions are commenced, the Attorney-General may make money by causing a rebellion, but will not eradicate the evil.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Abbeville, Oct. 24th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you on the 20th to inform you that Scott and I were endeavouring to arrange things against the 1st of November, and that I was in hopes to be able to give you some good news in three or four days.

So far as relates to our negotiations, I can now inform you that I have prevailed with Mr. Fitz Gibbon to support, and also with Mr. James Browne, his brother, and nephew. Mr. Fitz Gibbon and Mr. Browne are both men of abilities, the former sole heir to a very large property, and whose father and himself are popular men, and looked on as friends to Ireland; Browne is brother to the Earl of Altamont, who has a property of more than 10,000*l.* a year; he has been in Opposition, and was a chief tormentor of Government in the public accounts; they are both honourable men, and would

come in only upon honourable terms. I showed them the situation of things, and the consequences likely to follow, and how necessary it was for men of property to exert themselves to prevent mischief, which seemed to be the view of some people; as to the terms of their bargain, I understand them to be, that Mr. Fitz Gibbon should have the first of the three following places which shall be vacant, viz. Prime Serjeant, Attorney or Solicitor General; and Browne is to succeed Lord Naas at our board; the first has been positively promised through Scott by Lord Bucks, whose letter to that purpose I saw, the last has been transacted between Browne and Heron, to whom I brought Browne; but neither of these gentlemen would trust Heron or his master, and Scott and I are sureties for them; what other assistance they have got I know not, nor do I believe they know themselves; they have no list of members that can be depended upon. Jack Hamilton* who managed for them in this line last session, and was to have done the same this year, has been so ill used by Sir Richard Heron, that I do not think he can serve them in such a way, neither do I think any man can, for they either really do not know themselves who will vote with them and who will not, or if they do, they will not let their friends know it; it is, therefore, impossible for any man to say how any question may go, or to know when to put the question.

This is the state of the book of numbers; as to the

* John Hamilton, son of Sir Robert Hamilton, of Silverton Hall, in Scotland; M.P. for Castlebar 1774; for St. Canice 1776; appointed Commissioner of Barracks 1777; Under-Secretary of Military Department 1779; died 1781.

generals who are to command these unknown numbers, we stand also in the same uncertainty. Both Heron and Lord Bucks pressed Scott to take a lead, but he, as well as other people, was afraid of being betrayed by them; however, upon consultation, I convinced him it was right, when English Administration was so circumstanced, not to be content with barely speaking and voting on the side of Government, but that we ought to stand forth; he did accordingly speak to Lord Bucks and Heron, and asked them directly if they were deserted by their Minister, and by the D—ke of L——r, &c., for that in such case we thought it right to stand forth, and take such part as they might desire; and the answer was, that the Duke had taken two days to say whether he would go into violent opposition or not; four times two days are passed, and no answer, and of course we stand where we were. You must see the impossibility of any man making himself answerable for any question or measure while things stand thus, for depend upon it, that whenever a proper opportunity comes, his (I do not know whether to call them late or present) Ministers will desert him, in which case he will lose the question, be it what it may; for when Ministers give way to the desire of the public, as it is called, every man shifts for himself, and in the confusion the question is lost; county Members think, that when Ministers declare in favour of a measure of a popular nature, if they oppose it, they lose their county; others who have precarious or popular interests do the same; those who vote with Government, for substantial reasons,

take advantage and pretend to think they follow the proper leader, and, in short, it is impossible in such case to conduct any business. Mr. Prime Serjeant, in Opposition, may injure Government by a certain number which may go over with him, but those are to be replaced by proper application elsewhere; but while he is a reputed friend, at liberty to speak and vote against every measure he chooses, he will certainly overthrow them whenever he shall think proper.

This is the present situation of Parliament; as to the public, I think they grow more mad every day. Allan gets the Irish newspapers: only look at the *Freeman's Journal*, there you will see high treason in every column, and the people excited to rebellion; the city of Dublin, the merchants, and the aggregate body, have instructed their representatives to vote for no Money Bill of longer duration than six months; the county of Galway has done the same, and the thing will run like wildfire. Sir Richard thinks nothing of this; he told me there was no danger; I think there is, for although I am certain that with proper management such a question could not be carried, yet I cannot answer for such management. Whether Sir Richard will attempt to procure votes; whether, if he should, he knows how to prevail upon one man to turn to him; or whether, if he did, he would be prevailed upon to use the means, I know not: but, be this as it may, people are everywhere endeavouring to rouse the spirit of the nation, and to persuade them that it will be by the not granting supplies, and by the assistance of the independent

volunteers, that they are to expect a free trade: this is very dangerous doctrine with such a body of men in arms. Various are the accounts of their numbers, but this you may depend upon, that Government have given out 21,600 stand of arms; 500 to each county, 32 in number, makes 16,000. These arms were given out of the armoury in the Castle Yard, and 5600 which were dispersed through the country in the Administration of the Dukes of Devonshire and Bedford; many corps besides imported arms, and armed themselves, and many are calling out for arms at this day, so that I verily believe there cannot be fewer than 25,000 men in arms; some people say 40,000, but I do not believe there can be so many; but it appears to me to be matter of indifference, whether there are now 25,000 or 40,000 men in arms, for if there was a call, I have little doubt that the latter number would be found. It is therefore necessary for you to be apprised that, at this time, the spirit of the people is such, that any number of men may be raised; you are, therefore, to understand this, in whatever determination you may take. I was summoned yesterday on the subject of taxes for the present session; you have my opinion on that subject; it is, therefore, only necessary to say that I still adhere to that opinion, and to acquaint you that Foster's ideas are adopted, except the tax on placemen's salaries: I am perfectly indifferent about it, but I fear they will not produce what is wanted; and I will observe to you, that I am certain care will be taken to procure some Opposition Member to propose the tax on salaries,

to which both 'Mr. Foster, the proposer, and Sir Richard Heron, the adopter, are much inclined. It is, however, rather too much, that Mr. Foster should propose a tax amounting to a poll-tax on a few individuals in office, from which his own office, as arising from fees, should be exempted; and that Sir Richard Heron should take up such a tax on the friends of Government, his own offices being also exempted; the emoluments of the Searcher, &c., in Cork depending on fees, and that of Secretary being excepted from the absentee tax. I shall not attempt to persuade them to adopt the salt tax, because I do not wish to be at all answerable when I can avoid it; but I see clearly why it is not liked, viz. every tax is to be avoided which can possibly convey an idea that the people can be supposed able to contribute to the public expense; but I cannot think that tax oppressive which would not charge each individual $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ a year. The number of our people is 2,500,000; the number of gallons of salt which would remain charged with duty of $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ a gallon, after allowing the quantity re-exported to be deducted from the whole importation, would be 7,672,848, or about three gallons a man. The tax is not a third of what you have in England on English salt, nor one-sixth of your tax on foreign salt; it would be raised without additional expense, it might be increased as we grow rich, and it would operate to prevent in a degree the smuggling of salt into England, a trade we carry on at present.

The Lottery is determined upon: the merchants here will take off the whole tickets on a premium of 4 per

cent., or 8000*l.* out of the 200,000*l.*, so that there will be got 192,000*l.* clear, for which we shall pay interest at 4 per cent on 200,000*l.*

If I have not tired you sufficiently, I am sure I have myself. With best compliments to all your family,

I am, my dear Sir,

Ever your affectionate and very humble Servant,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Nov. 5th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—All my forebodings appear now to be nearly completed ; and it is probable that a very few weeks, if not days, will produce events which will disunite the interests of Great Britain and Ireland. Yesterday, as was the usual form, His Excellency, with the nobility, Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and gentry who chose it, went in procession round the statue of King William ; the armed volunteers were out on the occasion, and paraded the whole town, and fired in honour of the day and of His Excellency ; they took place, I understand, of the army, who did not come until the volunteers retreated ; they were, as I am informed, above 1000 men. His Excellency went round the statue, on which were affixed four labels, containing these extraordinary words in letters of great magnitude, disposed on the four sides of the figure, but so as to read together, as follows :—

SHORT MONEY
BILLS. A FREE
TRADE, OR ELSE

North side, next
House of Commons.

A GLORIOUS
REVOLUTION.

West.

THE RELIEF OF
IRELAND.

South.

THE LOYAL
VOLUNTEERS.

East.
Quinquaginta Millia
Juncta Parati pro
Patria Mori.

With which words affixed to the statue, His Excellency marched round it in great state, as I am told, for I would not go myself; the Duke of Leinster commanded the whole of the volunteers: and thus was the day conducted.

You need not be surprised at anything you hear from this country; for, depend upon it, the whole system of Government is over, if these people are left here in their *present situation*.

A time like this demands the utmost exertion. There is not a moment to be lost; if you do not intend that this country should be in arms against Great Britain, either grant us a free trade, or, if that is impossible, recall instantly Lord Buckingham, or at least his *Secretary*. I am certain that it is the only chance of escaping a Rebellion. I cannot answer that such a measure will prevent a Rebellion, or that it may not hasten such a thing; but this I am certain of, that we shall be in that predicament, if they stay here, and that you do not grant us a free trade. Things might be put upon a proper footing, if you sent us any man of sense and firmness; the force of Government, I hope, only sleeps. Lords Shannon and Tyrone are with you, and many gentlemen of independent fortunes, who want but a proper head.

It is true, the Money Bill may not be passed for the proper time, if there should be any change now; but what then? it would pass with a retrospect, and the duties would be all recovered, as has been already determined in the late Appeal to the Lords; but if you lost the whole duties for the intermediate time, what is that to the consequences of leaving these people here?

You see I write in a great hurry; but that I am not much afraid of your showing my letters, or I should not write so freely.

Yours sincerely,

J. B.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Tuesday morning, 8 o'clock.

Nov. 16th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—I sit down at this early hour lest I should not be able to find time at any other this day, to inform you that yesterday, about twelve o'clock, the mob rose and assembled, to the number of 3000 or 4000, in College Green, from whence they sent out detachments to execute their vengeance on such Members of Parliament as they either chose, or rather as they were directed, to select on this occasion. A very great body of them ran to the Four Courts in search of the Attorney-General, to assassinate him; they broke into the sitting of the Courts, armed with pistols and swords, made a violent riot and combustion in the Courts; but the Attorney-General, having just previous notice enough, made his escape to the Castle Yard, where, find-

ing that another party of the mob had gone to pull down his house, he made what haste he could, with a guard of soldiers and a magistrate, to save his wife and house from destruction. Before he came, the Recorder,^a who is a popular member for the city, and Alderman Warren,^b another popular magistrate, had run there on hearing of the riot, and got off the mob after their having broke to pieces all the windows, and done other considerable damage; other parties of the mob were in pursuit of Sir Henry Cavendish and Mr. Mason, whose coffin they carried about; the Attorney, hearing they were gone to those gentlemen's houses, kept a few men, and sent off the rest of the guard to their houses, which protected them. None of the gentlemen are hurt, not having fallen into the hands of the mob. During the whole of this time the mob was increasing in College Green, and seizing every Member as he came to the House, and forcing them to swear that they would vote for a short Money Bill, and God knows what besides; some Members were much pulled about, but none materially hurt; the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs were present all the time, endeavouring to persuade the people to disperse; the army came down, first the Highlanders, then the Horse, but the magistrates made no use of them, but sent them away. We had a Council last night, where we sat until it was too late for the post; we were

^a Recorder—Sir Samuel Bradstreet, Bart; appointed Recorder of Dublin 1768; M.P. for Dublin City 1776 and 1783; died 1784.

^b Nathaniel Warren, Alderman of Dublin and Police Magistrate for a long period of years; M.P. for Dublin City 1784; for Callan 1790.

told that it was humanity made the magistrates send away the army; but, as we were not convinced upon that subject, we are to meet this day at ten o'clock to examine the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs. I hear the same game is to be acted again this day, and that the mob are to be assembled by ten; a drum was beating through the Liberty last night at eleven, which is the signal for a mob for the ensuing day. How it will end I know not; and you know I am not much surprised that it has begun.

If I can find time, I shall inform you this night what may happen.

I have no hopes of carrying a long Money Bill. Seven packets due here this day to increase the confusion.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Nov. 18th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—In mine of the 16th, I gave you an account of the riot which happened on the 15th, and the attack upon the person and house of the Attorney-General.

I went to Council at ten in the morning of the 16th, where we remained until near four, when we went to the House of Commons, where we sat until it was so late I could not write again.

At Council we examined the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs

as to the riot of the preceding day ; all the material information which came out was, that the rioters had been invited down to the House of Commons, and to the attack of the Attorney-General, Sir Henry Cavendish, and Mr. Mason, by letters written by some person or persons signing himself or themselves "*A Member of Parliament*," and written in a very inflammatory style ; but no copy could be produced, although numbers had been dispersed. This information was corroborated by the declaration of one of the mob, who being asked by a popular Member what brought them down to the House, and being told they acted very improperly, and being desired to disperse, replied, "If you do not want us, why did you send for us : " the Member was about to interrogate him further, when the rest of the mob interposed, took off his hat, thrust it into the mouth of their companion, and carried him off. Another piece of evidence, which came from one of the Sheriffs, was, that he understood that it had been promised to the mob that they should be joined by a number of armed men from the north ; it also appeared that the number of soldiers sent to the Lord Mayor were few ; that when they arrived at the House of Commons, he had endeavoured by persuasions and threats to disperse the mob, but they peremptorily refused to stir until the military were sent away ; and the magistrates (having first asked advice from the Speaker, who answered them with his usual caution, that he expected they should do their duty, and referred them for further advice to Government, and then from the Recorder), dismissed the military, and left the mob in possession of the field. At

Council a Proclamation was agreed to and issued in the usual form. In the House of Commons, strong resolutions were moved and carried *nem. con.*, but not without very extraordinary debates; the subject was to have been mentioned from the Chair, but was taken up without communication by a Mr. Burgh,* one of the Duke of Leinster's Members; he began by lamenting the riot, and then pleaded in excuse of the rioters; he then applied himself directly to Sir Richard Heron, whom he abused very liberally; he said we had heard enough of the praises of this Administration, in which he neither had joined nor could join, for that he considered it as timid, weak, and destructive to this country; that the right honourable gentleman was now endeavouring to seduce Members to vote against the short Money Bill, but must fail for two reasons, for want of abilities to persuade, and of means to bribe; that he was too weak to do much mischief, being without means, without sagacity, and without decision; and much more.

The Speaker then stated the riot from the Chair, and the Attorney-General told his story, when a train of resolutions were begun to be proposed; Mr. Yelverton got up, vindicated the mob, and spoke such language as was universally condemned, and which tended to excite the mob again to pursue the Attorney-General. The latter replied in a very severe manner, and went so far that a violent altercation ensued, which obliged the Speaker and the House to interpose; at length the resolutions passed *nem. con.*; but, notwithstanding, there

* Thomas Burgh, of Oldtown, M.P. for Athy 1776; for Haristown 1783.

was a very great mob at the House this day ; they did no mischief, but they huzzaed the Friends of Ireland, as they called them, and called out for a free trade, &c.

It is in vain to flatter you with any expectations of carrying the Money Bills for the usual period ; all efforts are now too late. I do not think any man could save that point ; but that being over, I have hopes that measures might be taken to reinstate the King's Government in this country ; but I shall once more take the liberty of repeating that it can never be done while Sir Richard Heron remains here ; there is not a man in Ireland who either can or will draw with him ; they despise and distrust him ; and his utter incapacity is so apparent in every instance that ruin must be the consequence of his remaining here. It is owing to the conduct of a few men in Opposition, who will not suffer others to fly at any game under a free trade, and who stick to that single object, that every part of Government is not overturned. Mr. Daly, who is one of the ablest young men in this or any other country, and whose good sense and extensive property prevents his wishing to see confusion, is the principal means of preventing Opposition from going every length. This gentleman is well disposed to Government, although he has positively refused them to come in now. If you either totally change our Government, or send us a Secretary of good sense and firmness, on whom gentlemen can rely, and who will take the field without fear, things may be retrieved, after the passing the short Money Bill, to stop which I believe it is impossible now. It would be happy if you could get some one who was

known here, and on whom the gentlemen in Parliament have a dependence, such a man as Lord Frederick Campbell, if he could be persuaded to come. No one conducted himself better than he did when here; but, for God's sake, lose no time in coming to a final resolution, and putting it into execution.

I am, my dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

J. B.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, 21st Nov., 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—At a meeting of the Confidentials, as they are called, last night, Sir Richard Heron having confessed that if he opposed a short Money Bill he would be left in a minority of thirty or forty, in order to protect those few from public vengeance, it was agreed that it was best not to try it, but to endeavour to turn the concession to some account, and to make an effort towards providing for the arrear, and increasing the loan fund. The causes that have co-operated to render Government so weak for the last two years, are shortly, the omitting America in His Excellency's speech on his arrival, in order to purchase what has turned out an American support to his Administration; and a foolish rhapsody of Mr. Conolly's in the House, insulting every former Administration, and announcing that this Administration was to be a system of retrenchment. Thus, while a remnant of Lord Townshend's or Lord

Harcourt's strength remained, Administration here scrambled through a session by vilifying their predecessors for furnishing the means by which alone His Excellency existed here. But when these popular demagogues got the reins, and, strengthened by the favour of the Chief Governor, found themselves rooted in power and station, they grew tired of their self-denying ordinance; they demanded additional offices, bishoprics, and reversions. Then, feeling some obstruction, they discovered that Sir Richard Heron was a mean, groveling, selfish, treacherous fellow; that he had neither the virtues nor the vices of a gentleman, and no talent but that of deceit; and that these defects were not sufficiently atoned for in the generosity or good sense of his principal. The popular squadron, from the instant of their disappointment, sought their strength in the volunteers, the mob, free trade, and a short Money Bill. I verily believe that Mr. Conolly and the Duke of Leinster have persuaded His Excellency that his popularity would terrify English Government from removing him; and that if the conduct of Ireland can shake the present English Administration, the next one would naturally deal kindly by so good a benefactor as Lord Buckingham. I must say, that Irish Administration being now effectually a part of English Opposition, if Lord Buckingham survives Lord North, their reasoning is unanswerable.

I am justified in saying there is no Government in this kingdom; that there is neither spirit, exertion, or zeal, on the part of Administration; on the other hand, here is a people mixed with Republicans, French and

American emissaries, most of them of the religion of France, and the principles of America, admitted by both Houses of Parliament to be starving, perishing with arms in the hands of fifty thousand, and asking they know not how little they ask for. Nor does Great Britain seem to consider how much she hazards the loss of in refusing that little. What is it? To repeal restrictive laws, which in time of peace do not operate, and in time of war are a dead letter. War is the restriction which we now feel. Let me, then, entreat you not to bring both kingdoms into bloodshed by refusing what, if you gave us, can do you no harm, and which, if it operates at all, must ultimately operate for Great Britain.

Send us two men, or one man of ability and spirit; send him with the promise of extension of commerce in his mouth as he enters the harbour, unconnected with this contemptible tail of English Opposition, meaning well to the King, to his servants, and to the country, and he will rule us with ease; but if you procrastinate, or send us a timid or popular trickster, this kingdom will cost you more than America; it will cost you your existence and ours. You make an unnecessary scruple in desiring my permission to show my letters to Lord Thurlow,* or any one whom you think as highly of as I do of his Lordship. I can have but one objection, that is, that I scribble in confusion and hurry to you,

* Edward, first Lord Thurlow, son of the Rev. Thomas Thurlow and Elizabeth Smith; appointed, 1770, Solicitor-General; 1771, Attorney-General; appointed Lord-Chancellor 1778; resigned 1792; M.P. for Tamworth 1767 to 1778; created, 1778, Baron Thurlow; died 1806.

trusting to your discretion that my letters are not turned to any man's prejudice. I sometimes pity His Excellency, when I think him sincere; but when I find his partialities or his weaknesses banish judgment and truth, I think him a shabby scholar of Lord Chesterfield in politics and in morals.

Ever yours affectionately and truly,

JOHN SCOTT.

Read the inclosed, to show you that I do not write in resentment or in wrath.

Enclosure.

FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 17th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—No sensations are so peculiarly painful to my mind as either the idea of a friend's having conceived any suspicion of my good regard, or any doubting of that disposition, on his part, which my heart tells me is my due.

Some late circumstances have induced me, perhaps erroneously, to imagine you may have admitted an impression that justice is not completely done by me to the zeal which you have uniformly exerted previous to and during my Administration for the mutual interests of the two kingdoms; and that there has been a withholding of such distinguished confidence and favour as your conduct and character incontestably claim. Permit me, therefore, for the satisfaction of my own feelings, to express the fullest sense of your deservings, not only as

a servant of the Crown, but as an Irishman, who justly deems that a temperate and decorous demeanour to the mother country is the true method of obtaining effectual concessions, and securing the tranquillity and the prosperity, as well of the English as of the Irish nation. There is not an individual in this kingdom who feels a more animated indignation at the most disagreeable and unmerited predicament in which you have been placed, than the writer of these lines.

As soon as you may think it prudent to come out as usual, I shall be most happy to avail myself of your advice and assistance, so essential to me at this juncture. Will Mrs. Scott accept of my best compliments and my congratulations that her fortitude has prevented her being disagreeably affected by the serious alarm she has experienced?

Believe me, my dear Sir, with great warmth, your most faithful and most obedient servant,

BUCKINGHAM.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Nov. 22nd, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letter by the messenger who arrived on Friday last. I am very sorry it is not in my power to give you any intelligence of a more pleasing nature. Every day seems to be big with events, each of them tending to the utter ruin of the Empire, at least as far as it can be ruined by the separation of this country from Great Britain. I have long

foreseen what would happen, and have said, that the opening of our session would be the beginning of disturbances, and it has turned out so. You have been made acquainted with what has happened down to the riot of the 15th, and the steps which have been taken in consequence. I shall now, therefore, only mention a few facts that may convince you that an hour is not to be lost in your determinations respecting Ireland. On Wednesday last, I think it was, that an essay appeared in one of the evening papers, asserting that this country was not bound by English Acts of Parliament, and therefore the Act of 10 & 11 of William III. c. 10, was not of force in Ireland, and that all sorts of woollen goods might be exported from Ireland to any part of the world, and calling upon some public-spirited man, or body of men, to make an entry outwards of woollen goods for Rotterdam; that no revenue officer would dare to refuse such entry; but if he did, that an action should be brought against him, which would be tried by a Dublin jury, who well know the English Acts of Parliament did not bind us, and that, therefore, the officer would be cast in damages; and those who should advise him, who he supposed would be only Mr. Mason, should be torn to pieces by the mob. In consequence of this paper, Mr. Alderman Horan* came to the Custom House on Saturday, and there tendered, in his name, an entry outwards of woollens for Rotterdam. The Board happened to be up, but, by chance, Sir Hercules

* James Horan, Alderman of Dublin, carrying on the business of Indigo merchant and starch manufacturer in Meath Street.

Langrishe and I were up stairs in Mr. Hamilton's * office, our Secretary. The Deputy-Customer and the Collector came up to Hamilton for advice, and, shortly afterwards, Alderman Horan, when, by the strongest entreaties, and showing him that he might take it up again at any time, we prevailed on him to postpone the thing until this day. He told us that he did not act from himself, but by order of a large body of the public, who were determined to try the point; that he did not wish for confusion, and would consult those that sent him, and return on Monday. In the meantime, we went to Mr. Daly, who, with the greatest readiness, undertook it, and immediately interposed, and prevailed on Mr. Ogle and Mr. Grattan to join him; and together they have persuaded the persons engaged to drop this business at present; but, rely upon it, it will be taken up again. In case that they do not get an export of woollen goods, the consequence will be, that they will recover damages, they will export, and no officers will be able to prevent it.

Another matter, of a very serious nature indeed, is now in agitation—an intention to dispute the validity of the Act of the 6 Geo. I. c. 5, which takes away the jurisdiction of the House of Lords of Ireland; and the title of which Act is, “An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain.” This measure is suggested and advised, and is to be conducted by Mr. Yelverton,

* The Right Hon. Sackville Hamilton, Secretary to the Board of Revenue 1770; appointed Under-Secretary (Civil Department) 1780; removed in 1795 by Lord Fitzwilliam; M.P. for Rathcor-mick 1783; for Clogher 1790; died 1818.

of whom I once took the liberty of giving you a character. He has advised to bring an appeal from the decree of one of our courts before the Irish House of Lords, and thereby put it upon the House either to proceed or not. This would be a very great embarrassment ; first, from the natural love of jurisdiction inherent in mankind ; from the hold which Opposition Lords would take of the measure ; and from the effect which the violence of the people would have upon individuals : for you can have no idea of the tyranny which is exercised over weak minds by the terrors of the mob. There are serious and premeditated acts, tending to put in jeopardy the rights of both kingdoms. There are also many trivial circumstances which also show the disposition of men's minds at this time, and which, although unworthy of notice at any other, yet at the present I think you ought to know ; such as that very improper toasts are drank at public meetings, which I do not choose to repeat ; that healths which used to be drank are now refused.

You seem to fear that confusion may be the consequence of removing the present Government. I cannot answer that it may not ; but I will positively say, that if they stay much longer, it will not be possible for their successors to recover the ground. I before mentioned that, in this advice, I sacrificed my own interest ; but what interest can be put in competition with that of this country and Great Britain, which I see will be totally destroyed by the extreme weakness or treachery of certain persons ? You want an able Chief-Governor and Secretary, in whom gentlemen will have confidence ;

you want a firm man at the head of the law department ; and if you do not send them from England, look to it ; for you will involve us in ruin, and yourselves in great distress at the least.

Excuse the warmth, my dear Sir, with which I write. I cannot help it on such a subject. I see you all betrayed, and I wish you to rouse yourselves, and set things right while yet you may.

We have had two evening meetings at Sir Richard Heron's, in which he informed us, that he had called us to ask our advice as to giving up the question of the short Money Bill, or rather, giving way to this question. The Speaker asked him if he had any chance of carrying a Money Bill for the usual period of two years, when he declared fairly that he could not command thirty votes in favour of such a measure. He was then asked what were His Excellency's wishes and intentions. He answered that his sentiments were, that as he could not have above thirty Members with him, the obliging them to divide would be only sacrificing the best friends of Government to the mob, and their resentment, for no purpose. He therefore wished to give up the question, for which Mr. Speaker gave him due praises. I asked him whether he meant to go any further in his concessions, to give way to the whole scheme of Opposition, or to oppose them, and where he would make his stand. Much passed—too much to write ; but at length it was determined to distinguish between the additional duties, and such of them as are appropriated to the payment of the interest of the loan, and to get the latter for two years ; next, to endeavour

to get the arrear due at Christmas next, at which time the present Bill expires ; and also what is likely to be due upon estimates on the 24th June next, when the new Money Bill is to expire, and to obtain new taxes (those already submitted to you) in order to fund these sums, together with the 300,000*l.* before borrowed, making altogether about 800,000*l.* The taxes to be proposed are—

6 per cent. on imports, rated at £24,000	
Tax on wines . . . „	21,000
1 <i>d.</i> a pound on tobacco „	15,000
Tax on raw hides . . „	3,000
	<hr/>
	£63,000
	<hr/>

These funds must fall short, and, I believe, are intended to do so ; for observe that tobacco was included in the 24,000*l.*, and, when afterwards taxed by itself, must be deducted out of that sum. This will lessen it 7500*l.*, and I believe the same of wine, for I make 5 per cent. on imports, wine included, but 21,500*l.*

This is the present plan of Government. I will not answer that it will be executed. On the other hand, Opposition intend to dispute the quantum of the supply. They mean to pay the arrear down to the 25th March, 1779, only, and not to grant any new tax, but to fund this arrear, and the 300,000*l.* on the new additional duties, as they are called, granted in Lord Harcourt's time, which they mean to appropriate for the purpose. Some of them are for voting these duties for two years, others only for six months. This will be our

first question, on which, I think, we shall beat them, and put Government on its legs, if it can stand. Now, if we can carry this plan, I do not think that limiting the duration of the grant of the additional duties to six months, will be of any essential mischief. When that is done, if you take away these people, and give us a proper Governor, and let him bring over with him proper concessions to our trade (for I do hope that you will not let these men have the honour of what you give), things may be again set right. A long adjournment of our Parliament at Christmas, under pretence of your having time to do something for us before our meeting; then, in due time, a prorogation; and a new Lord-Lieutenant, with an effectual extension of our trade,—would meet our Parliament, and would, I trust, and with confidence believe, reinstate Government and order, and save us from rebellion and destruction.

Believe me, ever sincerely yours,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Nov. 26th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—On Monday, Sir Richard Heron gave notice to the House that next day he would open his Budget, and disclose the intentions of Government.

He, accordingly, yesterday opened the plan which I informed you of, when Opposition fell upon him; and without thanking him for giving up the question of the short Money Bill, they tore all his plan in pieces; they

ridiculed the idea of carrying the arrear any longer down than the 25th March, or the 29th September at furthest; they refused to grant the loan duties for a longer term than the rest of the additional duties; and they utterly denied the possibility of granting a single new tax, and insisted that, if any could have been given, those stated were the most ineffectual and pernicious. After a great many opinions given, when we had acquired new strength, the Brownes having spoken strongly in favour of Government, and Mr. Fitz Gibbon having declared that, notwithstanding Sir Richard Heron having acceded to a six-months' Money Bill, he was free to say that he thought such a measure highly dishonourable to Government, and detrimental to the nation. After all this, Mr. Foster got up and offered, he said from himself, a compromise, viz. that he would give up all new taxes, all arrears after the 29th September, provided Opposition would agree to pay the arrear due to Michaelmas, which he stated at 300,000*l*. Opposition first caught at this proposal; and afterwards disputing about continuing the loan duties for two years, they desired time to consider this, but agreed to give 300,000*l*. On this Sir Richard Heron got up and said, that he wished to concur with the general opinion, but also desired time to consider. This was fairly giving up the plan which was concerted, and leaving every man at large to pledge himself as he chose. I got up and said that it seemed both sides of the House determined to grant 300,000*l*.; but I begged to know what funds they meant to give for payment of the interest; and as I was not likely to get any information from the bench where I sat, I hoped that I should

be informed from the other side of the House, for they seemed now to be the persons who settled these matters. Daly understood me directly, and answered that they would fund it upon the new additional duties. The House then adjourned. This morning we were summoned to the Castle. Sir Richard Heron stated everything. Lord Buckinghamshire declared, in the most explicit terms, that such concessions were contrary to his instructions, and that he could not consent to them, and was determined to fight the new taxes to a division. Every one saw the utter impossibility of carrying the new taxes after the proceedings of yesterday. Some, therefore, declared that they could not vote for them; and some said that they would, in consequence of his determination. When we came to the House, it was known what was to be done; and Mr. Grattan arose, stated what occurred yesterday, said that he all along thought Sir Richard was in jest, which the compromise at last offered proved to be the case, and showed that all was a trick. He again urged the impossibility of granting new taxes, and concluded by moving a resolution, "That it was inexpedient at this time to grant any new taxes." We divided upon this question, when the numbers were—for the question, 170; against, 47; majority, 123. In our numbers were the friends of Lords Shannon,* Ely, and Tyrone, some few placemen, and half-a-

* Richard Boyle, second Earl of Shannon, son of Henry, first Earl, and Lady Henrietta Boyle, daughter of Charles, third Earl of Cork; born 1727; succeeded 1764; M.P., 1760, for county of Cork; Vice-Treasurer of Ireland 1781; created an English Peer 1786; married, 1763, Catherine, daughter of Right Hon. J. Ponsonby; died 1807.

dozen gentlemen. Thus has ended this very extraordinary business. I shall make no comments; it needs none. The event could not be otherwise from the steps taken. One thing is worth observing, that Mr. Foster, in disputing the taxes, argued that they were not worth asking; that they could not raise 20,000*l.* in the half year, for which they were to be granted.

Mr. Conolly spoke and divided against new taxes; Mr. Staples* also, His Excellency's brother-in-law, voted against us. I expect that we shall be insulted by this mob, exposed and deserted as we are. It is impossible to expect that we should do more than look on as silent spectators of what will follow. We can carry nothing the Opposition do not consent to, for these people do not know how to fight up. I have not time to write more; it is past eleven.

Yours very sincerely,

J. B.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO MR. ROBINSON.

26th Nov., 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been much more anxious about the state of your health than I can be now about what happens here; as I foretold, the Castle can *carry* nothing, and I believe His Excellency grows so fright-

* The Right Hon. John Staples, son of the Rev. Thomas Staples, M.P. for Newtown, Limavaddy, 1783 and 1790; for county Antrim in first Imperial Parliament; Commissioner of Revenue 1773; married, first, Harriet, daughter of Right Hon. W. Conolly; secondly, Henrietta Molesworth, daughter of third Viscount; died 1822.

ened that he heartily wishes to *carry* himself off instantly. They have been obliged formally to relinquish the two years' ordinary supply to His Majesty, by the Secretary announcing in his place the submission of Government to a six months' supply, which, he said, is a popular measure he recommended to the Attorney-General to move, and which I, as Attorney-General, begged leave to decline. The very next day after this concession, the Secretary was beaten by 170 to 47 upon the question of new taxes. Last night we were beaten upon the Loan Bill for two years by 138 to 100. To-day I understand that we are to be beaten upon the quantum of Supply; so that we may expect a mutiny in the army, as 98,000*l.* will be required in the Treasury before the 1st of January, and there is not 30,000*l.* to answer the immediate military demands. Treason is now as familiarly talked in the House of Commons as it is in the coffee-houses. I have said already all that occurs to me on the indispensable necessity of repealing the restrictive laws, whether you succeed in America or not; and the urgent expediency of removing these people, be they knaves or fools. I have told His Excellency that he ought to desire to be recalled; I suppose he will when he thinks it will most embarrass English Administration, or at a moment when his vanity may lead him to imagine himself a great favourite amidst the circle of his opposers here.

Ever truly and affectionately yours,

JOHN SCOTT.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Portman Square, Nov. 27th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—I hope that Lord Hillsborough's^a opening as Secretary in the House of Lords will give much contentment. The words, as I recollect, are nearly these; that he had just kissed hands for the seals, which he should not have accepted, if he had not understood it was the disposition of Government to recommend to Parliament the putting of Ireland on an equal footing with Great Britain. You will see Lord Lyttleton's^b doubts upon it, and Lord Shelburne's speech, in the papers. The idea was not objected to by a single lord connected with any rival interest here. Pray let me hear how it was received amongst you. I hope it will at least calm the jealousies and turbulent spirit of the present hour, and lead them to a more dispassionate, and perhaps both of us to a more happy conclusion. I was surprised that no officer of the Crown mentioned the riots, or did justice to our friend Scott's distinguished conduct on the occasion. I could not help recurring to it in the debate; but it is certain that a man

^a Wills Hill, first Earl of Hillsborough, succeeded, 1742, his father Trevor, second Viscount. His mother was Mary, daughter of Anthony Rowe, of North Aston, Oxon; born 1718; appointed First Commissioner of Board of Trade 1763; first Postmaster-General 1766; Secretary of State 1768 to 1772, and from 1779 to 1782; created, 1751, Earl of Hillsborough; 1789, Marquis of Downshire; married, first, 1748, Lady Mary Fitzgerald, daughter of Robert, Earl of Kildare; secondly, Mary, Baroness Stawell; died 1793.

^b Thomas Lyttleton, second Lord Lyttleton, son of George, first Lord, and Lucy Fortescue; born 1743; succeeded 1773; died 1779.

may bleed for them, but he would be less attended to than a man who bullied them. Pray write me word how the Declaration I mentioned is received, and particularly, how far you think, confidentially (if it is not asking too much), the establishing an equal trade is practicable, and in what manner, whether by our or your Parliament. You may depend upon my fidelity in keeping your information as my own thoughts, with your permission. I sincerely wish the happiness of both countries; for we are undone if we separate, and neither situation nor popularity shall influence me on so deciding a question to the existence of the British Empire. Our love to the Barb and all friends. Your little friends at Rainham are healthy and charming. The patriots seem to have conducted things very ill at present; the numbers don't lessen for Government; but the country is much distressed and discontented.

I am yours affectionately,

TOWNSHEND.

MR. ALLAN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Custom House, 27th Nov., 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 20th. I lament the times; I feel for your situation, and have endeavoured, as far as my sphere would admit, to rouse a spirit in our friends here; but there is a languor and a procrastinating system that requires more vigour than can be exercised. A day or two will show what can be expected from our new Secretary, Lord Hillsborough,

who, you see, has opened his Ministry by strong expressions in favour of Ireland. You say a free trade, without defining what you want; we say, you shall have a free trade, without specifying what we mean to give; between the two, public confusion ensues. Lord Hillsborough did me the honour to send for me the day before he kissed hands. I had a long and confidential conference with him, which I next morning communicated to Mr. Robinson; and I had Lord North's directions to give Lord Hillsborough every information in my power, which to the best of my capacity I have done, and he has been pleased to flatter me on the occasion. I think things look gloomy; I believe they are afraid of making the change you mention, and without it I am clear that they are undone. I hear there is to be a Cabinet to-day on Irish affairs. I am going to be quiet at Richmond, if I can. Lord North said last night that he would bring on Irish business on Tuesday.

I am yours ever,

THO. ALLAN.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Portman Square, 2nd Dec., 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will see by the newspaper of Woodfall, the best, I believe, published of debates, the motion and harangues in our House on Lord Shelburne's question, who is treading back his former steps of prerogative to be popular with your country. Pray tell me confidentially what you think will satisfy your coun-

trymen, as good subjects, divested of the political inflammation from hence. I much fear that if the political delays here, and the ambitious refinement of faction, continue, all we can yield will come too late. I believe and hope that Ireland does not wish to be separated from England. You know, my friend, that I always wished that England would do justice to Ireland; but where shall we draw the line? not between Ministerial sacrifices to townships; but between the fair equilibrium of British and Irish prosperity: not town against kingdom. Pray tell me confidentially, and assist me to promote it.

You know that I am suspected and hated by the courtiers for the cordial and frank manner in which I will ever adhere to the interests of both countries; and however distant from the seat of Council, I may be of use at this last crisis to the British Empire in Parliament. I therefore request your sentiments confidentially, and of my friend Scott; for whether, as Lord Gower said, an habitual indolence in one, or a total unfeelingness in all, I cannot say; but if honest men do not arise to correct the supineness of the Cabinet, and the dominion of faction, neither the constitution of the State, nor the combination of the British Empire, can hold much longer.

Pray tell me what trade it is which is opened—Lord Shelburne says, with America.

Yours affectionately,

TOWNSHEND.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO MR. ROBINSON.

2nd Dec., 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—Free trade, thanks to the armed societies ; six months' supply ; no new duties ; limiting even the Loan Bill to six months, and lastly, appropriating the additional duties of 1773 and 1775, from the payment of His Majesty's establishments, to the increasing the Loan Fund, compose the catalogue of our session. At a consultation, Lord Annaly,* the Archbishop of Cashel, and myself opposed the Appropriation strenuously ; His Excellency wished to resist it, but was unable. The Money Bills, such as they are, are now prepared. Better get them thus than get nothing ; though at other times, I think, you would be justified in rejecting them ; at present, however, I think it would be madness either to reject or alter them.

Lord Camden's son-in-law, Mr. Stewart, yesterday introduced a very mischievous motion—to address His Excellency to distribute the arms in the arsenal to the Volunteer Societies. I begged it off quietly, and it was postponed ; if it had been put, we could not have resisted it, nor, indeed, anything else. Give us this equal trade, send us some sturdy Lord-Lieutenant, and a sensible Secretary instantly, and, my life upon it, everything will be peace by May-day. Some examples must be made as to great and little rascals in the pay, but not

* John Gore, Lord Annaly, son of George Gore, Justice of the Common Pleas, and Bridget Sankey ; appointed Solicitor-General 1760 ; Chief Justice of King's Bench 1764 ; created, 1766, Baron Annaly ; married Hon. Frances Wingfield, daughter of Richard Viscount Powerscourt ; died 1783.

the service, of Government. This evening the Prime Sergeant resigns. Fitz Gibbon ought to succeed him directly; Mr. Wood* certainly ought not; his abilities are inferior, and not parliamentary; the other candidates are more obscure; unless you choose to reward the Provost's apostacy by bringing him back to the head of the law, and appoint him Provost, Prime Sergeant, Packer of Strangford, patriot, and volunteer, all in a breath, in order to make him an accomplished nuisance.

I am neither much frightened nor hurt; and I should not be at all dismayed, to-morrow, if His Excellency would retire to Marble Hill, and put any other man in Great Britain in his place; but while this man remains, we all live by courtesy of the mob. While I say this, I am not unapprised that His Excellency of Bucks has said many civil things of me; but nothing can atone at this time for his diplomatic duplicity, or the gross imposture of his Secretary. Maybe, they are both honest; but if they be, they are fools, and if they be not, they are—knaves. In either case, pray take them away. I give you joy of your first division, and of Destaing's demolition.

Believe me ever, with great truth, though with broken windows, and almost a broken head,

Yours most affectionately,

JOHN SCOTT.

* Attiwell Wood, called to the bar 1753; appointed third Sergeant 1777; second Sergeant 1779; M.P. for Cloghnakilty 1768; again 1776; died 1784.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Dec. 3rd, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—Since mine of the 24th, there has been very little done in Parliament, except what you must have expected as the natural consequence of what had before happened ; such as, that Government were not able to carry the Loan Duties for two years, nor for a longer term than six months, on which question, strong ground as it was, they divided but 100 to 138 ; and the Opposition carried the point, of which I before advertised you, viz. appropriating the new additional duties granted in Lord Harcourt's time to the Loan Fund. This accomplished everything that the Opposition wished ; and here they have stopped for the present. In the course of the debate on the continuation of the Loan Duties for two years, Mr. Conolly came down to the House, and took a strong part indeed in favour of the continuation ; and, in his speech, reprobated the part which he and his friends had taken during the whole session, and aimed particularly at Mr. Burgh. Mr. Burgh answered him, and in the course of his speech made use of very improper expressions ; such as, that in all States where the governors acted contrary to the interests of the governed, there never could be peace ; the flame might be hid for a while, but there must be a smothered war in such a country. He endeavoured to bring home this observation by stating the treatment of this country by England, and concluded by saying that the restrictive laws on our trade had alienated the affections of the nation ; that the serpent's teeth had been

sown, and that they had started up armed men. On this, Conolly got up in a passion, and said that an honourable gentleman, his friend, one of His Majesty's principal servants in this country, had declared that a smothered war existed: a strong altercation ensued, in which Mr. Burgh eat his words, and explained them away. Conolly stuck to him again next day, and hinted what he had said, and at his being in the service of the Crown, and opposing them. In consequence, after a hundred lame excuses for keeping his office so long, Mr. Burgh has resigned his situation of Prime Sergeant. What they will do with it I know not; but after the treatment I met with before about Mr. Fitz Gibbon, I shall not interfere; for His Excellency expressed his opinion that I wanted to trick him out of the place of Solicitor-General for Mr. Fitz Gibbon, who was to be my son-in-law. However, it has happened that he is not my son-in-law, so that the supposition was not well founded. I had no reason for mentioning him, except that I knew him to be the most proper man in the country for His Majesty's service. They may now hunt for him themselves.

In consequence of Lord Shannon's friends voting in the minority of 47, the Independents in the county of Cork intend to deprive him of his command, and to elect another in his place. It was even said, that he was to be tried by a court-martial among themselves at Cork. I believe you will think this very extraordinary.

The King's speech is come over, as also several letters stating Lord Hillsborough's speech in the Lords, and

Lord North's in the Commons. I have made it my business to inquire in what manner the whole has been received here, and as far as I can find, there is not satisfaction expressed upon the occasion. His Majesty's speech is thought to be cold; Lord Hillsborough is suspected of alluding to an Union; and Lord North's speech is considered as holding another line from Lord Hillsborough, and requiring something from us in return for an equal trade, which is interpreted into a contribution to the exigencies of England. But notwithstanding that such is the interpretation given, I think it is certain that if proper concessions are made, and sent by a new Lord-Lieutenant who knew what use to make of them, Government would be restored, and everything brought back to such a footing as you could wish. It was owing to Mr. Daly and Mr. Bushe that this country was not precipitated into measures which might have overturned the Empire; these men, and particularly Daly, have great weight in the Opposition and in the nation, and have exerted it, both publicly and privately, to keep opposition within proper bounds; for it wanted only their encouragement to let loose confusion. The restraining them has made them think seriously; and I imagine that the heads will listen to reason, and will be satisfied with moderate terms. It may be of use to you to know what is the idea here annexed to the words free trade. I shall, therefore, inform you in the best manner I am able, according to what I hear from gentlemen in public and in private. By a free trade is meant a liberty of import and export from and to every country which chooses to trade with us. Under this

description, it is allowed that Great Britain has a right to admit us only so far as she chooses to trade with her or her dependencies. Upon this subject I have argued with many, that this is a disadvantageous extension, and would be confined, in fact, to an export of glass and of woollens, and to an import of French, Spanish, and Portuguese sugars. On the other side it is argued, that being in possession of this right of nature, a commutation would take place to give up the foreign for the English plantation trade. By this you see one great object sought for is the direct trade to the plantations; another great object here is the export of woollens. These are the sentiments of those I meet with; but I would not be understood to say, that there are not some persons who have much more extended notions. I ought to have said, that it is not expected here by any one that I have conversed with, that we should get an extension of trade without a fresh regulation of our duties, so as not to take an advantage of England in articles of the same kind.

I am yours most sincerely,

J. B.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Dec. 5th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—I take the opportunity of the messenger going with the Money Bills, to write you a few lines upon the subject of the vacant place of Prime Sergeant. I find that His Excellency having discovered that he has been heretofore imposed on and deceived

by those whom he thought to be his best friends, is become suspicious of everybody, and is now so divided as to the person who ought to succeed Mr. Burgh, that he wishes to put the nomination upon Lord North. The Attorney-General, when consulted by him, recommended Mr. Fitz Gibbon as the only man who could essentially serve Government; but His Excellency answered that he had voted against him, and that he could not be answerable for him; that he would leave it to Lord North, and that I should be answerable for his future conduct. He has, however, never sent to me, and I have not seen either him or Sir R. Heron, having been confined to my room by a severe inflammation and cold, from which I am but just recovered, but have not gone out yet. In this instance, as in many others, you see the extreme weakness of the man, and the abdication, as Lord Shelburne properly called it, of the Government of the country. It is impossible for me to undertake what he desires me to do; and I am not so blind as not to see that it arises from a dirty jealousy, conceived originally by Sir R. Heron, and conveyed by him to his master, that there existed something between Lord North and me, through you, which interfered with his Government. I do, it is true, perfectly despise every part of his Government, and have the very worst opinion both of the head and the heart of his Secretary; but I am not such a fool as to attempt to interfere in matters that do not belong to me. I never wrote you a sentiment upon any of his public measures that I did not declare to himself, or his Secretary, and he knows that his concessions were directly contrary to my

opinion. As to the conduct of Mr. Fitz Gibbon towards him, it was this. His Excellency desired Scott to endeavour, during the late recess, to strengthen the Administration, and Sir R. Heron spoke to me. Scott was sent to Fitz Gibbon, who would give him no answer without consulting me. I persuaded him to come in; and Scott, he, and I had a meeting. He agreed upon these terms—that there should be a settled plan adopted, and a firm adherence to this plan, whatever it was, so that when we had taken a part, we might not be left alone and betrayed; and he was to have the first vacancy of Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, or Prime Sergeant. His Excellency agreed by letter to Scott. The system was to fight through against a short Money Bill, and the consequent requisitions of Opposition. This I communicated to Fitz Gibbon, who agreed to it, and went to the country to his father. He came back the very day that Sir Richard Heron stood up in the House, and gave up the question of the short Money Bill, directly contrary to the agreement entered into with us, but in consequence of the advice tendered at the meetings, which I mentioned to you, but which advice he got upon his own stating that he could not get 30 members to vote with him for a two years' Money Bill. His not being able to get a majority was owing to no one taking a single step to secure a vote on the occasion, except what Scott and I took. When Fitz Gibbon saw this, he thought there was no reason why he should take the unpopular ground of voting for new taxes in a minority of 47, as everyone knew that we should not

have more ; but in speaking to the question, he was the only man who was bold enough to declare, that he would vote for a two years' Money Bill, and that he thought a six months' one derogatory to the honour of the Crown, and detrimental to this country ; and that he would vote for the supply for the usual time, and if that was carried, for new taxes ; but if it was not, he would vote against new taxes. Lord Bucks did not much admire this declaration after he had given up the question ; and now pretends to doubt Fitz Gibbon's steadiness, and endeavours to throw on me what I cannot presume to undertake. My sentiments with respect to Mr. Fitz Gibbon I gave to him formerly, as well as to you. The interpretation which he put upon my conduct you know. I retain the same sentiments with respect to Mr. Fitz Gibbon as I then had, and I shall be ready, if His Excellency desires me, to declare them, and to say that he is the only proper man to bring forward upon this occasion. The other candidates are Mr. Browne and Mr. Wood. The first is my particular friend, and I procured him at the same time as Fitz Gibbon, on the promise of his succeeding to Lord Naas, with which he would be content. He was also informed by me of the determination of the Castle to fight for the two years' Money Bill ; and he voted against Government on the question of new taxes on the same ground as Fitz Gibbon. Mr. Wood is one of Lord Shaanon's friends, and wants to be Prime Sergeant only to get upon the Bench when a vacancy happens, of which there is no likelihood. He is a man of no capacity, and as long as

he was in this office, would be a clog upon Government, at a time when men of exertion are required. These are the facts, which I think proper to state to you, although I do not consider it probable that you or Lord North will choose to interfere as far as His Excellency may desire.

I am most sincerely yours,
J. B.

LORD NORTH TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF IRELAND.

Downing Street, Dec. 9th, 1779.

SIR,—Mr. Robinson has written fully to you upon the transactions of to-day in the House of Commons. They will be all in vain, unless Ireland gives some mark of being satisfied and pleased with our proceedings. Exert, my dear Sir, your great spirit and abilities upon this occasion. Your zeal for the public, and your attachment to the British Government, I know so well, that I am sure it will be a pleasant task to you to forward the good work we are now about on this side of the water. Let the two countries return to their old good sense and good humour as soon as possible, and we shall both be happy.

I am, &c.,
NORTH.

permanent relief, it is an exertion and a period in her history she ought ever to be proud of, without pursuing it to any severity upon an embarrassed, and debilitated, and distressed relation. Tell me how far you think it will operate, for I am sure you will speak impartially, and therefore your obliging hints are the more valuable to me.

Lady Townshend joins me in best wishes to the Barb and yours.

With truest esteem, dear Sir, your most obliged, humble servant,

TOWNSHEND.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Dec. 18th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 9th arrived here with most amazing despatch, having been delivered by eleven yesterday morning. As soon as I received it, I went over to Scott, but met him and Sir Richard Heron in the street. They went to the Castle to a consultation, where it was determined to let out that the resolutions were arrived, and to summon a number of the principal lords and gentlemen in the evening to the Castle, to whom were to be read these resolutions, and their opinions to be sounded. Accordingly, there was a meeting of about twenty-six, I believe, when the paper was read, and gentlemen urged to deliver their sentiments upon them. The Chancellor, Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, Earls of Tyrone, Shannon, and

Bellamont,^a Clifden,^b Mason, Townsend,^c Langrishe, Waller,^d and myself, Sir Robert Deane,^e Chief Baron Dennis,^f Attorney and Solicitor General, Mr. Jones,^g Clements, and Burton; in short, every man present, except the Speaker, the Provost, and Mr. Flood, rose one after the other, and delivered their sentiments in the strongest language of gratitude and satisfaction at the fulness of the propositions. The three gentlemen

^a Charles Coote, Earl of Bellamont, son of Charles Coote, M.P. for county Cavan, and Prudence Geering; born 1738; succeeded as fifth Lord Coote 1766; created, 1767, Earl of Bellamont; married, 1774, Lady Emily FitzGerald, daughter of Robert, first Duke of Leinster; died 1800.

^b James Agar, first Viscount Clifden, eldest son of Henry Agar and Ann Ellis; born 1734; Commissioner of Revenue 1773; Postmaster-General 1784; M.P. for Gowran 1754 to 1768; for county Kilkenny 1768 to 1776; created, 1776, Baron Clifden; Viscount 1781; married, 1760, Lucia Martin; died 1789.

^c Richard Townsend, M.P. for county Cork.

^d Robert Waller, M.P. for Dundalk, Commissioner of Revenue.

^e Sir Robert Tilson Deane, son of Sir Robert Deane, fifth Bart., and Charlotte Tilson; born 1747; M.P. for Carysfort in Parliament 1768; for county Cork from 1776 to 1780; created, 1780, Baron Muskerry; married, 1775, Anne, daughter of John Fitz Maurice, of Springfield, county Limerick; died 1818.

^f The Right Hon. James Dennis, called to the bar 1746; appointed second Sergeant 1773; Chief Baron of the Exchequer 1777; created, 1780, Baron Tracton; died, suddenly, 1782.

^g The Right Hon. Theophilus Jones, son of Walter Jones and Olivia Coote; M.P. for county Leitrim 1760; for Coleraine 1769; for county Leitrim 1776; for borough of Monaghan 1783; for county Leitrim 1790 and 1797, and in the Imperial Parliament; appointed, 1767, Collector of the Port of Dublin; married, first, 1734, Lady Catherine Beresford, daughter of Marcus, Earl of Tyrone; secondly, Miss Anne Murray, daughter of Col. Murray; died 1811.

above named could not be prevailed on to articulate. At length Mason boldly attacked them, and said that, when he heard the resolutions read, he expected to have heard every person present anxious to be foremost in expressing their joyful satisfaction and gratitude on the occasion ; but that he could not help being surprised and concerned to see some gentlemen sit in gloomy silence, brooding over future events ; but he hoped that as no one uttered any dissatisfaction, that no one conceived it, and that, therefore, His Excellency might acquaint English Administration, to whom it might be of importance, that the meeting were unanimous in their strong approbation of what had been done. Even this would not provoke a word, and we broke up. After His Excellency had departed, the Speaker said that his station obliged him to be silent, but that he thought the resolutions very fair. It was eleven before we broke up ; this day not a single step is taken to make the public think well of the measures. I wanted the bells rung, guns fired, bonfires, this night, and drink to the mob, but nothing is done. It is impossible to say what effect these resolutions will have on the public at large, until a few hours shall pass over ; but I think they will content a very large majority of the Houses of Parliament, unless improper means are pursued ; but there will be some who will not be satisfied with these or any other concessions, among them his Grace of Leinster, who has now declared himself a violent opponent of Lord Bucks ; and in a speech on Thursday last he went into his reasons, which were very curious, violent, and absurd. In the course of his speech he took occasion to

abuse Lord Hillsborough, his uncle, in words much more offensive than are repeated in the public papers, as I am informed, not having been present. On Friday he went, with his Duchess, to the play-house, in royal pomp, being escorted by a company of volunteer grenadiers, two of whom stood sentry on his box ; they came in as king and queen ; she first, he at some distance of time. She was received by a most violent clapping of hands, &c., and the music played up a blackguard tune, called " Success to the Duchess wherever she goes." He then appeared, and was not only clapped, but also huzzaed for several minutes without ceasing. They bowed to the people several times, and seemed perfectly happy with their new dignity.

I shall say no more now on these subjects, as I probably shall soon see you, when I can inform you fully. I shall, as soon as I can learn it, inform you of the sentiments of people in general on Lord North's resolutions. As to the question you put to me and Scott, whether an Irish Secretary would answer, I shall very fairly give you my opinion upon that subject.

I think that a man known and regarded by the gentlemen of the House of Commons as a man of honour and truth, on whom they could depend, would, if he could be at the same time thoroughly relied on by English Government, be the best man you could have on the present conjuncture ; but any person being appointed to that office under Lord Buckingham, who should coincide with his present and late advisers, if he be a man of any ability, will effectually overturn all

English government in this country. I am certain, that in delivering my opinion fairly and openly on a question which you desire it on, I run no danger of being suspected of pointing at any man, or any particular set of men. I live in perfect good society with the gentlemen who have been His Excellency's advisers and friends, and never have a difference with them. Their political conduct, however, I do not admire, nor shall I ever imitate. I therefore do freely advise you not to suffer His Excellency to nominate an Irish Secretary; for if you do, you will have a man more attentive to Irish popularity than to the interest of English Government.

I continue still, my dear Sir, of the opinion I have ever taken the liberty of stating to you, and I hope most sincerely that the event may not justify me, that the present Government here are not capable of making use of the arms you have put into their hands, or of taking advantage of those concessions made in favour of free trade. They will suffer the ill-intentioned, the factious, and those who wish for disturbances to represent those boons as nothing worth, as deceptions; and when they are granted, you will, in their hands, be just where you were before. It is therefore that I have always wished you to send another Lord-Lieutenant with your favours. Do not be persuaded to be deceived by any appearances here, that there are not men wishing for independence, and seeking it; but be assured that at this day you may be in possession of the means of defeating their projects, if they are met by a man of

sense and firmness. (I shall, in a few days, be able to lay some things before you, I believe, of some importance on this subject of independence.) You are afraid, I see, to change your man, imagining that the public will be angry at losing their popular Chief Governor. I must fairly tell you what the public say, that were it not for his weakness and folly, they never could have obtained what they have, or are likely to get. On this principle they make no scruple of saying they wish for his continuance; and they endeavour to make him popular, and to make him in love with popularity; but they despise him and his government, and detest his person. I have a strange sort of folly about me, which often makes me think I resemble some gentlemen whose conduct I often disapprove of for their love of popularity; for I fear to suffer, in the opinion of my friends, by stating my own opinions, if they can be possibly construed into anything like self interest, or even tending to the interest of my own particular friends. I have, from this motive, forborne to say to you hitherto anything upon any person who might be likely to conduct your business here as Chief Governor; but I am overpersuaded by my friends, who show me my folly; and I shall therefore say, that there is but one voice here in calling for a successor, and that is universally in favour of Lord Townshend. He is popular here, to the highest degree, with the most violent patriots. He is looked on as the greatest friend to Ireland; and I do verily believe he might do what he pleased here. I have mentioned this fact once, but believe I never shall again be prevailed on to do it, and I trust to you to

clear me from doing it on an improper motive now. I must conclude to be in time for the post.

Ever yours most affectionately,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. ALLAN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Berners' Street, 16th Dec., 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—This is the first hour that I have had to sit down quietly to write to you. I have had a continued scene of hurry; papers upon papers, though useless to the point, were ordered. It was this day se'night that Lord North sent to me to assist him in framing the resolutions which he intended to propose, and which were accordingly done. A dozen clerks were employed in framing a variety of accounts which had never been looked into. On Sunday morning, no part of the plan how he was to speak on the next day was prepared. Robinson was gone to Sion Hill; I was sent for, and luckily not gone out. I went down with what Irish papers I had. He kept me till five o'clock in the evening; he dined out, but directed me to come again at ten at night, and I was then *tête-à-tête* with him till one in the morning. He arranged his matter, and his speech, which you have probably seen, gained him great credit. It included all the points which the writers on Irish grievances desired to be granted, enabling my Lord to say that he had every reason to believe that what he offered was to the full satisfaction of Ireland. In the course of my conversation with him, I took care

to intimate two or three points, and impress them on his mind. I mentioned the merit of Fitz Gibbon in preference to his competitors. He said there was no doubt he was the proper man, and would be appointed. I mentioned how awkwardly you and others stood in consequence of your support of the Castle in the late division, and the absurdity of the Secretary in dividing the House, to which he agreed; and this brought on a point of more importance, viz. a successor to Sir Richard. Now, would you accept it? The situation is important, critical, and full of danger; but you are fully equal to the task. I had some conversation in Portman Square to-day. I do not think it impossible that they may go there for a Lord-Lieutenant. Lord Hillsborough is now otherwise provided for; but for how long, and with what view, I will not pretend to say. Once I knew it was his object, and probably it may be so still. Lord Rochford has been named. I conversed with him on the subject some time ago, and think he would decline it.

Lord Townshend objects to Sir John Irwin's patronage of the army, and that may be difficult to get over; but, if he should go, he certainly means to look to you.

The House will adjourn this day se'night. I have holidays to the 10th of next month.

Your most devoted servant.

THOS. ALLAN.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Dec. 20th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—I sit down at this hour, near ten o'clock, just come from the House, to congratulate you upon the very glorious success of this day—a success as little expected at three this day as it was deserved by the conduct of Government. They did everything which they ought not to have done, and had like to have overturned all; but the publications in the papers of this day, meant to do mischief, as you will see upon perusal, so terrified gentlemen, that we had an unanimous assent to the resolutions enclosed; and not only that, but Opposition all spoke, and said everything which could be wished for by you. They all spoke most strongly in favour of the resolutions of Lord North, said everything in praise of his Lordship, and Lord Hillsborough, and many of our Opposition did very liberally abuse *yours*. They said that they pretended to be the friends of Ireland, when they could do them no good or service; but when they could, they held back and only acquiesced, but would not approve, &c. A circumstantial account will go from Blaquiére to Lord North; he is writing at the other end of the room. We write against time, the express goes off in half an hour.

I must conclude to you very shortly, but hope, in a very few days, personally to inform you of this business, and much more.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. ALLAN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Bath, Dec. 27th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—Although you mentioned in your last some hope of my seeing you, I did not expect it would be so soon. I am sincerely glad, for Lord North's sake, that you are come; for you will keep him to the point, and make him follow up that reputation which he has justly gained with respect to Ireland. Inspire him with resolution to dismiss your present Viceroy, and Ireland may be restored to quiet and good government.

The great points which you will have to discuss are an union and revenue. To the former you know your ground well, and will find Lord Hillsborough very open on the subject.

To the second there are more difficulties. You see a storm brewing all over this kingdom. If the war continues, Lord North may get the money for this year; but by next session, I do fear, we shall have some serious commotions. The same idea prevails in your country. In your conversation with Lord North, remember that you may be the Irish Secretary.

As to myself, I have no settled plan. If I can be of service to you, and am wanted, I will come up on receiving your answer to this. If not, I have holidays to the 14th January, when I must be at the Custom House. If I am wanted, I can leave this at any time.

Most sincerely your obedient servant,

THOS. ALLAN.

LORD BUCKINGHAMSHIRE TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Dec. 31st, 1779.

MY LORD,—Your Lordship will naturally wish that any ideas with respect to the future conduct of the public business, the support which His Majesty's Government is likely to meet with, and the projected official arrangements, should be submitted to your consideration.

I flatter myself that any attempt to reduce the establishment will prove abortive; but in the present state of the country no very sanguine hopes can be entertained of their going any further. Yet the reflection, now obvious to every Irishman, that the preservation and defence of the colonies is become as much the interest of Ireland as that of Great Britain, may have its influence; and no exertion on my part shall be wanting to give that circumstance its full weight. As to the particular taxes which it may be expedient to exact—nothing certain can well be settled upon that subject till the regulations of the Bill for opening the West India trade, &c., are determined upon; but it is computed that the sugars alone, if your Lordship should deem it advisable to take off the drawback upon the exportation from England to this kingdom, will produce 50,000*l.* per annum. The expediency of putting an end to the volunteer companies is evident to all thinking men; but the fixing the manner of accomplishing so

desirable an end is equally difficult and delicate. The many whom I have consulted on the subject are of opinion that the carrying a proper Militia Bill into execution, as soon as the other liberal favours intended to this kingdom have been confirmed by Parliament, will be the wisest and most practicable mode. If the military plan, which I lately transmitted to Lord Hillsborough in a private letter, nearly of a similar tendency, could be adopted, it would co-operate most effectually. The Attorney-General authorises me to use his name as recommending that measure, and Mr. Forster concurs in that opinion. The filling up the office of Prime Sergeant is extremely embarrassing, as the preference, where-soever it is given, would dissatisfy many; yet the leaving it open encourages a jealousy with respect to Mr. Burgh's being intended to be recalled, which carries with it a degree of inconvenience. Your Lordship will believe me when I assure you that, after his conduct the first day of the session, and the extreme aggravation upon the question of continuing the Loan Duties, I never admitted an idea of restoring him; and I am persuaded that even his best friends think he never would give a firm and steady support to Government in Parliament, though his acting in Opposition must carry serious inconvenience. The two persons, one of whom it is in my contemplation to recommend to His Majesty for the office of Prime Sergeant, are Mr. Fitz Gibbon and Mr. Browne, brother to the Earl of Altamont. The Parliamentary abilities of the first would clearly decide the preference in his favour, if he had not lately, contrary

to assurances given, taken a warm part in Opposition. I understand that he professes a resolution to act with the most determined steadiness if employed, and the Attorney-General interests himself in his favour. Mr. Browne is a man of business, but is deficient in that readiness and activity in parliamentary debate which times like these may hourly call for. He and his family might possibly be satisfied with an engagement to give him a seat at the Revenue Board, by some arrangement at the close of the session. Lord Shannon recommends Mr. Attiwell Wood, who is dull to a proverb, and Sir H. Cavendish and his relation, Mr. F. Flood, will be dissatisfied if the latter is not favoured in the law arrangements. My own preference would rather incline to Mr. Fitz Gibbon ; but I would submit the whole to your better judgment, as well as whether the office should be filled up immediately, or kept open till the business of the session is concluded, with a private assurance to the person preferred that His Majesty will honour him with the office. Sir R. Heron is with me of opinion that it might be advisable to keep it open. The serious mortifications which I have experienced in Parliament, from the desertion of all those who are most obliged to Government, render it impossible for any person in my situation, till the first fever of patriotism has had time to subside, to pledge myself for the certainty of a majority ; but my hopes are sanguine that the hourly-increasing good humour, and the holding out expectations of honours and emoluments, which I flatter myself His Majesty will hereafter, when merited, con-

firm, may enable me to close the business of this session to his satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest truth and respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged and obedient servant,

BUCKINGHAM.

SIR J. BLAQUIERE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 23rd Feb., 1780.

I HAVE yours, my dear Beresford, of the 17th, and you will, since you wrote, have got some others from me. To-day there is a variety of matter turning up. This morning the volunteers, going to one of their own reviews, met upon their march, near Essex Bridge, the Castle guard. There is a variety of accounts given of the dispute, even by people who pretend to have been present ; but without mentioning any of the aggravating circumstances, this is the fact, that the volunteers disputed the way, and that you owe to the supreme discretion of a boy of eighteen, who was the commander of the guard, that you have not had many bloody heads, and at this moment, perhaps, something like a commotion in Ireland. He drew his guard aside, gave the path to the volunteers, and so the matter subsided ; but not so, my friend, with what follows. The Sheriffs and commonalty of Dublin resolved on Monday, that Mr. Gardiner (by name) had, by his conduct in Parliament, contributed to tax the people ; that they were determined not to sub-

mit to this sort of proceeding, advised him to take care of what he should do, for, at the peril of all that was dear to them, they were determined to resist. 'These are not the words, but the purport of their resolves; and they were delivered to him in form by their secretary. We had no business in the House, the Committee of Ways and Means having adjourned to Friday; at three we broke up, but Members stayed a couple of hours afterwards disputing this point, and it was done in a solemn manner. Mr. Burgh led a small party that was for passing it by; that it would be the signal for drawing the sword, if we took any notice of it. My opinion, agreeing with that of many others, was precisely to the contrary. Draw the sword we might, though I do not think we shall just now; but if we did, right was so much on our side that we could not do it on a better occasion. It may surprise you, that when I addressed this language to Sir R. Heron, charging Government with timidity which had undone the country, Foster and Lord Farnham seconded me, Foster in a particular manner. My opinion decidedly is, that the Sheriffs should be sent to Newgate; an apology may save them; but such should appear to be the sense of Parliament, acting in support of the Constitution; and I find nine-tenths of the House are of that mind. To-morrow we shall try, and I hope not be undone by a disgraceful compromise. In either case it makes a change of things in Ireland. God send us a good deliverance! Pray mention this to our friend Robinson. Ever yours,

J. BLAQUIERE.

SIR J. BLAQUIERE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 11th March, 1780.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have this moment yours of the 6th. I so little expected that you would be still in London, that I have not written you a line. Pray—*àpropos* of important matters—don't you think of sending over trees to replace our shipwrecks? I presume you do, and if so, pray let me have duplicates. Our friend the Black Prince has just made further ravage here. He took last Tuesday two of our packets, one from Ireland with the mails of the 5th and 6th, and one from England with the mail of the 3rd. The vessels, I hear, have been ransomed, the passengers plundered; but as they are returned both to your side of the water, we know nothing further of the particulars.

I dined to-day with His Excellency; he called me up to sit next to him, and whispered me half the dinner-time. What it means, or whether it means anything, I do not know, and as little care; but sure I am it was a singular thing. We spoke frankly, and when he said that things would go smoothly, I with great respect flatly contradicted him; but all in a whisper. It was a small party, Corry* of the number. We had heard of this being the wedding-day, which the bridegroom's white satin breeches did not contradict. In the course of the dinner the whole appeared. I left Bishop Barnard^b actually performing the ceremony; they set off

* Mr. Corry was this day married to Lady Henrietta Hobart, daughter to the Lord-Lieutenant. He was next year created Lord Belmore.

^b Thomas Barnard, Bishop of Killaloe.

after supper for St. Wolstans,^a and there they consummated.

Your brother's recommendation^b is lost by the Black Prince. It went by one of the mails taken; but this morning a messenger was despatched by Donaghadee, and he carries duplicates, so Lord Bucks told me at dinner, wishing to pay his court. By the bye, this same Black Prince is at anchor off or under the Hill of Howth, so that the packets were afraid of sailing this morning.

You have probably read Grattan's address. I presume it is the signal for commencing hostilities in the country. I hope I am mistaken. Yours ever,

J. BLAQUIERE.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Portman Square, March 14th, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,—I cannot behold the situation into which the affairs of Ireland are at present brought without the greatest uneasiness and no small share of indignation. I see, on the one hand, the connection which subsists at present between the two countries in great danger of being dissolved; and I see, on the other, a

^a St. Wolstans, now the seat of Edward Cane, Esq., in the county of Kildare, nine miles from Dublin. Before the present vice-regal lodge was erected in the Phoenix Park, it was the custom of the Lord-Lieutenant to rent some summer residence not too distant from the Castle. St. Wolstans was several times tenanted by Chief Governors.

^b To the see of Dromore.

strong appearance, at least, that there will be a sacrifice of those gentlemen who have heretofore steadily and disinterestedly supported His Majesty's Government, Lord North's Administration, and the constitutional connection of the two countries.

I shall not take up more of your time than is necessary by going very minutely into the subject of public affairs in Ireland; but shall beg leave to remind you of the several letters which I have troubled you with for the last two years past; you will recollect that, early in Lord Buckingham's first session of Parliament, I foretold you what would be the future conduct of his Ministers, even to the resignation, which did afterwards take place. On the very first appearance of the present associations, I warned your Administration in England repeatedly of the consequences which would ensue. During the last summer, I, at two different times, in the presence of Sir Richard Heron, mentioned to you and to Lord North, that unless Sir Richard was prepared, on the first day of the session, to state the indulgences which it was meant to grant to Ireland by Great Britain, the consequence would be an address for free trade, a short Money Bill, and a refusal of new taxes. His Excellency's letters and Sir Richard Heron's declarations to Administration here will show that they differed from me totally on every subject. Which of us was right, time has demonstrated.

I have stated these from among many things in order to give some weight to what I may say hereafter; for it shall appear upon a review, that I have not been mis-

taken in a single conjecture which I have hazarded to you, or given you a single false information, I may hope to gain some credit for what I may herein or hereafter state to you.

I shall now warn you not to be deceived by the favourable appearances which arise from the late Addresses of the Houses of Parliament to His Majesty; the late unanimity, if you rely upon it, will be your ruin; it was calculated to deceive you. Constitutional questions will be agitated so soon as they are backed by the strength of county instructions and associations, and by the orders and directions of armed societies. When they come to be agitated you cannot, I repeat it, depend upon the persons on whom His Excellency relies for support. You have no means of preserving the country except by a majority in Parliament, and that majority you must have independent of those who have more than once deserted you when any crisis came. Your majority ought to be as large a one as you can get; it may be obtained, and you cannot pay too highly to get it. If you can keep those gentlemen on whom His Excellency relies, so much the better; but depend upon it, you will not be less sure of their support by showing them that you can do without it.

It may be worth your while to consider the private history of the late Addresses. You are not a stranger to the persons who prevailed on Mr. Daly to move the Address in the House of Commons. The same influence would have obtained a stronger one, were it not that he was obliged to soften it down, in order to obtain the

assent of some on whom His Excellency places his firmest reliance, and who would not otherwise agree to it.

The history of the matter, as I understand it, was this : Mr. Daly, when he had prepared the original Address, which I some time since gave you a copy of, showed it to Mr. Burgh and others. Mr. Burgh no sooner saw it than he determined to oppose it, well knowing to whom it would be attributed ; he, therefore, immediately declared publicly, and made his friends industriously propagate it, that he was not under any engagement to support His Excellency's Government. Thus matters stood, till His Excellency was apprised of the person intended to be appointed successor to Sir Richard Heron. The first consideration which always occurs to him upon every occasion is, "How will Mr. Conolly, the Duke of Leinster, and Mr. Foster relish this ;" he accordingly communicated with them. Upon the knowledge of this, the whole plan was changed, and it was determined, as there seemed to be no objection here to an Irish Secretary, to endeavour to get Mr. Foster put into that situation. For this purpose, Mr. Burgh went to Daly, and offered to support his Address, provided he softened some expressions in it, to which Daly agreed for the sake of unanimity. The changes which were made you may see by comparing the original with the present Address ; so careful was Mr. Burgh to steer clear of any expression which might be equivocal and include, by possible construction, constitutional points, that he insisted on altering the words "adequate to our distresses" to "adequate to our poverty," because distresses

might be constitutional. An Address of a much stronger nature was to be introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Leinster, and to be marked by him in his speech as being drawn up by a particular friend, who could only be Mr. Burgh or Mr. Foster. This was done to show, in the first place to His Excellency, and next to English Administration, that these people would support them, and oppose constitutional questions ; and the friend, who was nameless, might be mistaken for Mr. Burgh by, at least, English Administration, while His Excellency was to be privately informed that he owed to Mr. Foster this strong Address in the Lords, and he was to be persuaded that if he had had the management of that in the Commons, it would have been equally strong. Thus the very persons who make one Address strong, prevail on Daly to weaken the other in order to gain their concurrence. In the Address of the Commons, every idea of a constitutional question is omitted, that is, in the scene of action for such questions ; for there they can have the assistance of instructions to Members ; but they know they would have no chance in the House of Lords, in the first instance ; and, therefore, if the Commons were left free, it did not signify what was said in the Lords ; but it was necessary that there should be every appearance of unanimity and strength in Government, in order to deceive His Excellency, and that Administration on this side of the water might be induced to believe in that strength, and adopt the great scheme which they have in agitation, making Mr. Foster Secretary in the place of Sir Richard Heron.

Whether they will or will not be able to persuade His Excellency into recommending such a measure, notwithstanding the objections which he may have made to an Irish Secretary, I cannot say; but if I were to conjecture, from the manner in which he is said to have expressed himself of late, that Mr. Foster was done injustice to, if he was not considered in England the real efficient man of business, I should be apt to think that he might. His Excellency may very truly say, so far as his experience goes, that Mr. Foster is the only man of business, for I am certain that he has tried no other. Let the business which has been done answer for itself. I am sure that I do not know any man who wanted a recommendation to English Government that would dispute for the honour of having planned or executed the business of the present Administration in Ireland; for my own part, I claim no part of the credit. But be this as it may, I am certain, from sending over Sir Richard Heron, and from other circumstances, and the declarations of His Excellency, that his intentions are hostile; that he will attempt to get Mr. Foster for Secretary, or, at least, to continue Sir Richard Heron in the hands of Mr. Foster. I consider these measures equally tending to place the power of this country in the hands of those persons who have brought it into its present situation; I think them equally destructive to the interests of Great Britain. I not hesitate to say, that if such measure is proposed, and it be assented to by Lord North, that he not only abandons his own friends, but will overturn the very existence of the supporters of English Government in Ireland, and

takes the surest way to encourage the agitation of dangerous questions, and perhaps to ensure the carrying of some of them ; for it cannot be expected, my dear Sir, that men will be weak enough to stand forward in support of a Government that they cannot depend upon ; to risk their popularity, the estimation which they possess in the country, and possibly their lives and properties for a Ministry who, when their interest is so deeply concerned, will not exert spirit sufficient to protect their friends, even when they look for no other reward.

Such is the case at this moment with the Attorney-General, Lord Shannon, Lord Tyrone, Mr. Hamilton, and myself, and many others, who must look upon themselves as very cruelly treated, if they are to be tied neck and heels, and delivered over into the hands of their enemies. I think myself to blame for ever supposing such a possibility as, that those who have stood firm for years in support of English Government and shown no fears, should be sacrificed to a set of men taken up by His Excellency from the ranks of Opposition, and connected with Opposition in both countries.

Believe me, yours ever sincerely,

J. B.

MR. BURTON TO MR. BERESFORD.

Mount Charles, near Ballyshannon,
March 16th, 1780.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I am come to this wild country to look after our fisheries ; and it is annoying to hear the accounts which they give me of the shoals of fish of

all kinds, and almost at all seasons, to be taken here; but we have not yet got merchants of sufficient property engaged in it to barrel them up properly for the West-Indian market. Several thousand barrels, however, were made up and sent to Cork this year, and many more would have gone, but for the apprehension of the Press. I wrote to Mr. Stephens* to get protections, but received no answer. I wish that you would inquire if protections are granted to the Scotch fishers; if so, we ought to get them. Captain Montgomery, of this place, informs me that last year a liberty was granted by the Commissioners in England to land a cargo of Irish herrings, and store them at Liverpool, for re-exportation. He wishes to obtain one; and you would oblige me highly if you will inquire about it, and if possible obtain that liberty for him.

I am very truly yours,

WILL. BURTON.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO MR. ROBINSON.

Harcourt Street, 4th June, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wish I could send you on this day an ode of congratulation. No man living is more interested in celebrating it; but in truth, my friend, the King's affairs go on lamely in this place, and such is

* Philip Stephens, third son of Rev. Nathaniel Stephens and Ellis Deane; born 1728; Secretary to the Admiralty 1763 to 1795; Lord of Admiralty 1795 to 1806; M.P. for Liskeard 1760; M.P. for Sandwich 1767 to 1807; created Baronet 1795; died 1809.

the abdication of Government here, that the cause seems an absolute derelict; but it is worse than merely forsaken; it is now become not only distasteful but dangerous to articulate on your behalf. As to myself, I really have very little anxiety; so much has been done for me, that I am conscious I ought to bear without a murmur much more abuse than I have already done, if that were possible, and if exhausting the whole virulence of Opposition upon me could be of any use. There are others, however, who support the King and his Minister strenuously, for whom I am in great pain, and especially for our friend Beresford. This gentleman has already, during Lord Bucks' Administration, been actually shot at by a *protégé* of the Castle for doing his duty officially, which is hardly fair against the father of thirteen children. The sturdy support which Beresford gave to Lord North's wishes in the sugar business against the favourites of the Castle, the obstruction which his knowledge of Lord North's sentiments on many subjects has given to the will of those who really govern here, the annoyance which this gentlemen's attention to the subjects of revenue, of taxes, and various regulations in finance, has caused to our new-fangled projectors and Ministerial patriots, added to some strong expressions of Mr. Fitz Gibbon exposing the conduct by which this country had been led to the verge of rebellion by the treachery or incapacity of Sir Richard Heron,—have together exasperated the Secretary's resentment to such a degree as to have induced him to hint to me that he should *call upon Mr. Beresford* before he left this country. I laughed at his

knight-errantry; and I recommended peace to Noll Bluff, as the only possible means of preserving either his personal or political existence.

Let me now tell you how matters go in the House of Commons. You have heard how we were treated on the Mutiny Bill by the personal friends of the Lord-Lieutenant. The Secretary has again run out of the House upon another important subject; and I pursued him, and asked him how he could expose the imbecility of Government by hiding his head on such an occasion. It was this: to gratify his Minister, the Lord-Lieutenant has suffered a bounty to be granted upon the export of linens. This was much against the opinion of Beresford and Sir Lucius O'Brien. The fund to provide for this bounty is a tax of five per cent. upon imports, which he, early this session, suggested as one of the ways and means to Lord North; this Beresford opposed, but in vain. After to-morrow I understand that the Provost is to propose a tax upon English beer imported; Mr. Flood has brought in a Bill to give a bounty on the exportation of corn from Ireland, and to lay a tax upon English corn imported here. It is expected that I shall turn out to oppose all these different propositions. What! oppose the King's Vice-Treasurer, Provost, Secretary of State, with swarms of Placemen and Privy-Councillors? It is monstrous; it is anarchy; worse than anarchy, it is anarchy at the expense of Government. For God's sake, for the sake of your friends and yourselves, do end or alter this wretched system of cunning and cowardice, of treachery and weakness, and see that an honourable, gallant, and

attached servant of the Crown, as you all know Beresford to be, shall not become the victim of his virtues, and a sacrifice to the Secretary's vengeance and vice. Do something, do it speedily, to show that you will uphold this gentleman and his opinions, if you really approve of his conduct, and that you regard him as your friend; and inform the Castle (master and man) that their pitiful intrigues shall neither advance *their* favourites, nor oppress *your* adherents. If you do not, depend upon it your interest in this country will not be worth half-a-crown in half a year. What I mean directly is, reject their recommendations, advance such as you are convinced have been doing their duty, come at them as you may, and turn this fellow to feed swine and fatten oxen as soon as possible.

Yours ever most truly and affectionately,

JOHN SCOTT.

P.S. I have read over this letter; parts may be coarse and angry, but I cannot suppress it. Do not mistake me; I am not afraid that the Secretary will call out Beresford, for I know that he dare not; but with their dispositions, I think Beresford cannot have the fair-play for his services which he certainly is entitled to from Lord North and English Administration.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO MR. ROBINSON.

29th July, 1780.

MY DEAR ROBINSON,—I have seen your last ; and in thanking you for my part of it, I wish to add a word upon the prospect of a successor to Lord Bucks, which is now a public topic. I know not who he may be, and His Majesty's goodness has made it a matter of indifference, other than as the choice may tend to his service and the strength of his Administration. Let me, however, beseech Lord North, through you, that the next Secretary (and I care not who he is, if it be not Beresford) may be able and cordial ; and if it be not intended to deliver over the next Lord-Lieutenant to his Grace of Leinster, as the man who shall govern all things here, let me caution you as to the danger of strengthening that faction as much as Lord Bucks seems to intend.

The death of Mr. Robert Waller having opened a place at the Revenue Board, has attracted all men's eyes to His Excellency's system. In two hours after Waller's death Mr. Parnell was publicly announced as his successor. Mr. Parnell is a well-educated gentleman and a man of parts, connected with Foster and the Speaker. I envy not his success ; but I pity those who have supported Government and are disappointed.

It manifestly appears that continuing the principles and power of Lord Bucks after his retreat is his favourite object ; if it be yours too, I have not the least objection, and I care not who shall be first and last in power here ; but if it should not be exactly the King's

intentions, it were well to lay an embargo upon all recommendations from this hour to strengthen his successor. I have heard much of a Revenue Reform and new plan of regulation, which was thought essential; but since Mr. Beresford has had the misfortune to be recommended as Secretary, that and every other idea on his behalf has given way to jealousy and suspicion; and unless you couple the Revenue Reform with Parnell's appointment, and retard every recommendation from the Castle till that plan shall be officially transmitted, as it has long been approved, it never will be recommended by Lord Bucks.

I have so much reason to know that His Majesty is perfectly acquainted with the characters of individuals here, as well as the strength of factions, that I shall not add who has supported and who has opposed; but this I can affirm with truth, that the personal friends of His Excellency have constantly and uniformly been those who have been in the van of Opposition, from the day of his coming to this hour. Possibly this is wisest, and if so, I am the last man living who should distrust his popularity, or attempt to traverse his wishes. I write to you in a great hurry; the Court of Chancery and both Houses sitting; this is endless, even in the dog-days.

I am, with great truth and sincerity, always yours affectionately,

JOHN SCOTT.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM COL. BARRÉ* TO
MR. BERESFORD.

London, Aug. 16th, 1780.

TELL the Barb that the youngest of her numberless admirers could not have done so foolish a thing as her old Barré did a few days ago. However, he has paid, though not a great deal, for his folly. Overturned in a high phaeton, his wrist sprained, and his fat carcase slightly bruised. Townshend, less fortunate, has broken his arm in two places; but is recovering wonderfully fast.

This was an evening's work in Bedfordshire, and without the usual excuse of having been a little jolly after dinner. I am only sore all over; and as to carrying my arm in a sling, it draws respect, and I pass for an old wounded officer. My love to the Barb, Bess, Nannette, little Jane, and all the second brood, with *et cæteras*.

Yours ever sincerely,
J. BARRÉ.

* The Right Hon. Isaac Barré, an officer in the American War under Wolfe, where he received a wound in one eye, which injured its sight, and ultimately affected the other eye; M.P. for Wycombe 1760 to 1767; for Calne 1774, 1780, and 1784; appointed Vice-Treasurer of Ireland 1766; Treasurer of the Navy 1782; Paymaster of the Forces 1782; died 1804. Col. Barre is represented prominently in the picture of "the Death of Wolfe."

LORD NORTH TO LORD CARLISLE.*

Bushy Park, 17th Sept., 1780.

MY DEAR LORD,—Upon returning from my ride I received your Lordship's obliging letter with great pleasure, and flatter myself that this business will end, as your Lordship and I wish, to your comfort and mine, to the benefit of the public, and I hope to the satisfaction of your friend. I will return a positive answer to your Lordship's questions with all possible despatch, but your Lordship must be sensible that it would not be becoming in me to take upon myself to give an immediate answer to one or two of your propositions before I take another opinion than my own upon them.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most faithful, humble servant,
NORTH.

LORD CARLISLE TO LORD NORTH.

St. James' Place, Sept. 23rd, 1780.

MY LORD,—After giving much serious reflection to the conversation of yesterday, I cannot resist pressing upon your Lordship, in the most earnest manner, the

* Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle, son of Henry, fourth Earl, and the Hon. Isabella Byron, daughter of William, fourth Lord Byron; born 1748; succeeded 1758; appointed, 1777, Treasurer of the Household; 1779, President of the Board of Trade; 1780, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; 1783, Privy Seal; married, 1770, Lady Caroline Leveson Gower, daughter of Granville, first Marquis of Stafford; died 1825.

difficulties and inconveniences which must attend the procrastination which you hinted at in regard to the Irish appointment.

In the first place, it throws a different complexion on the whole of the undertaking, and I am warranted in asserting that it will be productive of essential public detriment, at the same time that it subjects me to every sort of personal embarrassment, for I find the intended nomination put off from day to day, after having had every reason to think that it would take place upon the close of the session in Ireland. The cabals that will be instantly formed against a new Lord-Lieutenant, and which will gain considerable strength by his absence, and the want of persons fixed in the interest of Government to watch and counteract them; the waste of patronage which ought to be reserved for sustaining the future system of managing the affairs of the kingdom; the depriving the successor of the present Lord-Lieutenant of the power of smoothing the road he is prepared to enter upon, at a moment when your Lordship will be the first to allow that every sort of assistance ought to be afforded to him; the discouraging prospects of the person who succeeds to that important trust when he has the mortification of seeing such distressing delays at his outset; and, above all, the irrevocable loss of the very critical period of a first recess from the late national struggles, when the foundations might best be laid for a system of good and solid Government;—these are the circumstances I am induced to present to your view, persuaded that when you reflect upon them, you will see the necessity of

proposing a more speedy arrangement than that which, to my great surprise, I found yesterday had been submitted to your contemplation.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,
your Lordship's most obedient, most humble servant,

CARLISLE.

MR. EDEN* TO LORD NORTH.

Greenwich, Sept. 23rd, 1780.

MY DEAR LORD,—I enclose what I hope and trust your Lordship will not think improper, as the humble and hearty tender of my services, pursuant to the ground which you stated to me yesterday. I privately own that I feel for the present much foiled, and that what I have done amounts to an unqualified risk of my future fate upon the event of Irish difficulties. I shall therefore always think that I was not unreasonable in my first

* The Right Hon. William Eden, third son of Sir Robert Eden, Bart., of West Auckland, county Durham, and Mary, daughter of William Davison; born 1746; called to the bar 1769; appointed, 1776, a Member of the Board of Trade, to 1782; 1777, a Commissioner and Auditor of Greenwich Hospital; 1778, accompanied Lord Carlisle to America on a diplomatic mission; 1780, Chief Secretary of Ireland, to 1782; 1783, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland; 1785, Envoy Extraordinary to Court of Versailles; 1788, Ambassador to Court of Spain; 1789, Ambassador to the Hague; 1798, Postmaster-General, to 1804; M.P. for Woodstock 1774 to 1784; for Heytesbury 1784; created, 1789, Baron Auckland, in Ireland; M.P. for Heytesbury again 1790; 1793, created Baron Auckland, in England; married, 1776, Eleanor, daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.; died 1814.

wish to be of the Treasury Board, and afterwards of the Privy Council. However, it does not suit either my temper or understanding to do things by halves, and I shall therefore now endeavour to do my duty in this new state of life to which I am called, with the utmost cordiality and cheerfulness. In order to my doing it effectually, allow me to express the most earnest and solicitous wish, for all our sakes, and for the sake of the public, that we shall not be put under the irrecoverable and fatal disadvantage of being detained in England, as Lord Buckingham has proposed; such a delay, if it takes place, is likely to affect the whole future course of Lord Carlisle's Government; in short, if we are to be deferred from 1780 to 1781, God only knows what we are then to undertake; but we all know full well that we shall undertake it with infinite new disadvantages. Mrs. Eden and I intend to pay our respects at Bushy in the course of Monday next.

I remain, my dear Lord, ever respectfully and affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

(Enclosed.)

Greenwich, Sept. 23rd.

MY LORD,—When you did me the honour of meeting Lord Carlisle yesterday, at my house in Downing Street, I understood you to state the three following particulars by the King's special permission, and I now beg leave to repeat the expressions used, that I may not remain liable to misapprehension of His Majesty's favour and goodness.

1st. Though the Irish Secretaryship is an appoint-

ment in the nomination of the Lord-Lieutenant, His Majesty, considering it also as a branch of the public service, is graciously pleased to signify a wish that I may be employed in it.

2nd. With regard to future promotion, His Majesty condescends to give his assurance, that if I shall be thought deserving of employment on my return from Ireland, I shall be considered of the rank of having actually passed through the Treasury Board.

3rd. His Majesty will not disapprove of my retaining my seat at the Board of Trade with the Secretaryship, until my future situation shall be in some other way ascertained, and this not merely because I may find my new situation more expensive than I can conveniently afford, but to signify that I could wish rather to keep some ostensible pretension to an establishment in England, than be considered as seeking it in Ireland.

I beg leave further to make a short remark on each of these communications in the opposite order to that in which they stand.

In considering the last, I have only to say, that I shall never try or wish to avail myself of it longer than upon a competent knowledge of the new situation in which I am to engage shall be thought perfectly reasonable. I have that fair desire which a man may honourably have to improve my private circumstances, at the same time that I sacrifice my health and every exertion of my mind to the public service. Pursuant to this principle I have received repeated marks of the King's bounty, and am duly grateful for them; but your Lordship knows my circumstances to the utmost exactness, and you

know that I have always expended whatever I have received in order to do no discredit to the public line of service in which I have on different occasions been employed.

In respect to the second, I am aware that Lord Carlisle's friendship for me suggested also a wish that I should be of the Privy Council. It is not without precedent for an English Privy Councillor to fill the Irish Secretaryship, and such a mark of favour is certainly not ill calculated to give me some little degree of that weight which I shall want. Now, as Lord Carlisle proposed it only to facilitate a future appointment to a Privy Council office, and as an assurance is here given that I shall be considered on that rank of appointment, if I should be thought deserving of employment on my return from Ireland, it would ill become me to urge what may be thought exceptional and, indeed, seems superfluous.

I have only to remark on the first of the three communications, that I have considered it last, because, if I had referred to it in the order in which it stands, it would have precluded me from expressing my gratitude on the two which follow it. It is, as it ought to be, sufficient for me to know that His Majesty condescends to have a wish or a preference in the employment of my zeal which is honestly and uniformly devoted to His Majesty's commands, and consequently to the service of the public interests of his kingdom.

I have the honour to remain, with perfect respect,
your Lordship's faithful, humble servant,

WM. EDEN.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, 26th Oct., 1780.

MY DEAR ROBINSON,—I have had your short note, which was long enough, as it satisfied me that you had effectually survived the shock of another General Election without loss of limb or member.

Our friend Lees, whose unremitting exertion is constantly furnishing new instances of ability and zeal for His Majesty's service, gives me an agreeable occasion of congratulating you upon what I think deserves an Irish Gazette extraordinary.

Lees goes over to deliver to you in chains the most noble and puissant Patriot his Grace Cromeboo of Leinster, for the use of His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, and upon such moderate and trivial terms as make him to Government almost unconscionably cheap. The most promising part of the business is, that the contract is left almost wholly to a friend of yours and Mr. Ogilvie,* who is a principal instrument in the negotiation, and it is in that situation that will always insure to you the steadiness of a very high and very variable weathercock, whose face turns the City of Dublin, and some other interesting parts of this kingdom, almost to peace or war. Give him what he asks, or more, at least till we have a peace, and you are gainers. Is it necessary—I hope not—to assure you that I have no interested bias in this affair? On the contrary, I have no inclina-

* William Ogilvie, a Scotch gentleman who married, in 1774, the widow of James, first Duke of Leinster; M.P. for Ballyshannon 1783; died 1832.

tion to his Grace, and the King's goodness has made it indifferent to me who shall be Lord-Lieutenant, provided the King's business be well done, the King's servants prevailed upon to do their duty, and the King's Minister here be obliged to resort *not* to the Opposition for support.

Yours most truly and affectionately,

JOHN SCOTT.

MR. EDEN TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin Castle, 1st Jan., 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—We shall write fully both to Lord North and Lord Hillsborough in three or four days, and I will send various particulars to you. Our opening here is as promising as we can desire; but all ideas of Government are so lowered and so loose, that if you give us any shock from your side of the water before we get things into shape and system, I cannot answer for our not coming to disgrace. Be assured, however, that we are doing our best with all possible industry, with as much discretion as we can command, and with a plan of liberal hospitality very little calculated for our private fortunes.

Yours ever most faithfully,

WM. EDEN.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Jan. 8th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—I came to town this day with Eden and his wife, who spent two days with me at Abbeville; everything, he thinks, goes on smoothly and well; but I have told him that he must look forward to a storm after this calm; that such is the course of business in this country; every new Government is followed, and all is honey until something is refused to individuals; then the scene shifts, and each party appears to the other in a very different light. This being the case, the only time to look for friends, and to secure such as may be depended upon, is when everyone imagines that all is to be quiet, and before the great ones begin to quarrel, which is generally about the first week of the session; for it is foolish to show teeth when a man cannot bite. Eden confesses this, but says truly, “What have I to go to market with?” There is the misfortune; his predecessor has forestalled the market literally, has opened patents, put in people incapable of ever being serviceable to Government, and suffered several Revenue officers to sell their offices, from collectors downwards; but so things will go, and so they must, as long as the system of England is to let the Government of this country depend upon chance, and as long as people are paid equally well for betraying the King’s Government, as they could expect for a prudent and firm upholding of it. The accepting of some late recommendations fills me with equal surprise and resentment for the moment;

but I see how it happens, and hold my tongue, except to you; but I expect that when the letters of a certain friend are made as public in London as they were in Dublin, and the same observations made upon the whole of his conduct, he will find that the steps which he has lately taken in favour of his late Excellency were very ill bestowed.

Yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. EDEN TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Jan. 15th, 1781.

MY DEAR LORD,—I solicit, without scruple, your attention to this letter, because I stand clear of all personal interests in your decision, and I am induced to send it by the sole motive of doing whatever seems right in the situation confided to me.

The inexpediency of making grants, or the renewal of grants, within the Phoenix Park has, I know, been occasionally stated to your Lordship; and I have reason to believe that it has even engaged His Majesty's attention.

Heretofore, when His Majesty's Lieutenants resided only for the despatch of Parliamentary business, it was of little consequence to them to have any country retirement; and, accordingly, the old seat at Chapel Izod* fell gradually into ruins. In later times, when their con-

* Chapel Izod, a village immediately adjoining the western side of the Phoenix Park.

stant residence has been required, it has been found necessary for the health both of the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary, to have seats in the neighbourhood of Dublin; and they have, in some instances, been obliged to avail themselves of the favour of individuals in a way that the present Lord-Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary determined on no account to adopt.

His Excellency has not yet found any country-house fit to receive him; but must soon hire one, whatever may be the expense or inconvenience. I have agreed to take a lease of Sir J. Blaquiere's place during my residence here, upon terms by no means suited to the state of my income, exhausted as it will be by the great expensiveness of my situation; but I am without an alternative, for a constant confinement in the Castle air would very soon destroy both me and my family, and the hourly interruptions of public business make it difficult for me to go to a greater distance than the Phoenix Park.

Having said this, I must add, in justice to Sir J. Blaquiere, that the rent which I am to pay is not more than was very lately offered to him by the Lord-Chancellor, and his Lordship has, in the course of the last week, made a tender of 5000*l.* for the place. The rent, however, which I am to pay, and the sum which the Chancellor offered, are equally an inadequate return for Sir J. Blaquiere's expense in completing the place.

The convenience of the situation to the Irish Secretary must, in any event, be great; but it will be singularly so whenever Mrs. Clements's^a house shall revert to

^a Mrs. Clements, the mother of Lord Leitrim.

the Crown, or be otherwise obtained for the Lord-Lieutenant ; events, perhaps, not very distant, Mrs. Clements being 76 years of age, and her sons not indisposed to accommodate Government. In suggesting any matter for the public service, I will never tarnish it by suffering a private interest to be intermixed ; and, therefore, I would wish to continue subject to the expense of renting the house ; at the same time, if I were disposed to ease myself of that expense, I find, in every party and description of individuals here, an united opinion that it would be right to use any opportunity of securing a country residence for the Lord-Lieutenant and the Secretary. What I would offer for your Lordship, to be submitted to the King's gracious consideration, is, that if His Majesty shall be so disposed, the Lord-Lieutenant may understand that, towards the close of his Administration, it will be agreeable to Government to purchase Sir J. Blaquiere's house and domain for about the sum of 7000*l*. Irish, which I am informed is less than the sum expended upon the place.

I should have deferred this matter to a later time, if I had not felt an awkwardness upon my own sentiments in depriving Sir John Blaquiere of so good a purchaser as the Chancellor, whose offer at present ought to merit attention, if I am, with many others, mistaken in thinking that the purchase should rather be made for the benefit of the Castle.

I am, with the utmost respect and attachment, my dear Lord, your most faithful, humble servant,

WM. EDEN.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Jan. 17th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will receive from my friend Blaquiére a letter explaining to you his situation, and his wishes concerning the success of a scheme taken up by Mr. Eden, more for the convenience of future Secretaries than for his own; viz. the purchasing Blaquiére's house in the Park for their residence. The propriety of the scheme as to the Secretary, Mr. Eden will explain; the utility to Sir John he will inform you of at large; but the short of the matter is truly, that Sir John must part with the place. The Chancellor wants it, and has offered 5000*l*. Eden wants to rent it. Such are the Knight's circumstances, that 5000*l*. now is better to him than 7000*l*. four years hence; but such are his feelings that, as he hates the Chancellor and loves the Government, he would lie under inconvenience to accommodate the latter rather than the former. It will be real charity to assist him; but if you find that the thing will not do, let him know it at once, that he may deal with the Chancellor, and get rid of the place, which will totally sink him, if he continues to hold it.

Luke Gardiner mentioned to me that Colonel Meadows* is going out on a secret expedition, and has signified his wish to his brother, Colonel Gardiner,^b that

* Colonel Meadows, afterwards Lieut.-General Sir William Meadows, K.B.; died, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, 1818.

^b Colonel Charles Gardiner, second son of the Right Hon. Charles Gardiner; born 1748; married, 1777, Harriet, daughter of Sir Richard Wrottesley, Bart; died, 1806, a Lieutenant-General.

he might get out with him second in command. Luke's modesty would not suffer him to go further; but I know that his wishes are strong, and although I am almost certain that you have nothing to do with such matters, yet I cannot avoid saying, that if it comes any way across you, the assisting him will give me great pleasure.

The Revenue plan begins to operate a little. I am obliged to go on quietly, and to take up Reform as matter offers. I have been able to do a good deal, and have met the concurrence of all my brethren who attend; viz. Mason, Langrishe, and Parnell; and the Castle appears to be resolved to support and enforce the collection of the Revenue. If the course of business continues as it has begun, I have little doubt that you will see in the course of this Administration some effect from the new system: but do not expect too sudden an alteration.

Yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ALLAN.

Dublin, Jan. 26th, 1781.

MY DEAR ALLAN,—Do not attribute my silence to a want of regard, for I assure you it does not proceed from thence; but I have been a slave since my arrival here. I have attended every day at the Custom House, holidays and all, and very often in the evening, in order to get up the arrear of business. It would surprise you to see the alteration which is already made in the conduct of business. I have cleared the board-room of

the Collector of Dublin City Excise, and of our dismissal of him: as I do not yet know whether you have received from Government any account of the matter, I send you enclosed a copy of our representation to His Excellency on the subject, which will give you a short statement of it. It is a very serious business, and shows, certainly, two things: that there is a faulty mode of checking the Collector's accounts, and that there has been negligence somewhere. If this matter should be investigated, I trust I shall be able to exculpate myself. I have repeatedly, for six years past, mentioned to the Board, and to Government also, that this gentleman was in arrear, and I am certain that I have stated to you, and, I believe, to Lord North, the same thing, and also informed you that Government, first in Lord Harcourt's, and afterwards in Lord Buckingham's, Administration, had sent to the Commissioners, one by one, to request of them not to proceed to extremities with Mr. —, they always imagining, and the Board being fully persuaded, that his balance did not exceed what appeared upon the face of the weekly abstract, viz. from 1500*l.* to 6000*l.*, for which they had 12,000*l.* security, besides his own property, viz. 8000*l.* from Lord —, and 4000*l.*, at least, from a clerk of his own, who died in his debt. Under these impressions, Lord Harcourt sent Lees down to the Board, at a time that I had set on foot an inquiry, to request that we might not proceed. He applied first to me, but I refused to listen, unless there was an order sent down in writing. He, however, had better success elsewhere, and the business was postponed until Lord Bucks arrived, when it was again taken up,

and then Sir Richard Heron spoke (as they tell me) to all the Board, except myself, and got the business again postponed, every one still thinking that the balance against him was as then stated. I heard no more of the matter until my return here the other day. I landed the 22nd of December, was sworn into office* the 23rd, which was Saturday, and the next day the holidays began. I took down with me to the country a bundle of papers to read in the holidays (which continued till 10th January), and among the rest, all the papers relative to Mr. —; I there found a letter from the Accountant-General, stating as in our representation, and an order of the Board in pursuance, with Mr. —'s answer, but no reconciling abstract. I next found his memorial to Lord Bucks, stating that he was indebted 10,800*l.*, with his Lordship's very extraordinary reference of this memorial to the Board, who, I believe, had not read it, or did not think about it. So soon as I saw this, which was about the 6th January, I came up to town, went to the Custom House, and examined the abstract for that very week in which he wrote to Lord Bucks, stating his debt at 10,800*l.*, and found that he had returned a balance of but 1890*l.* I wrote to the Board to assemble, though it was the holidays, and wrote to the Surveyor-General to come up. The Board met and determined to put the Surveyor-General in charge, as soon as he arrived, and to obtain a reconciling abstract immediately. When the Collector

* A New Board of Revenue having been appointed during Mr. Beresford's absence in England, it was necessary that he should be re-sworn before he acted officially.

came to his office, the Surveyor-General happened to be from home, at Limerick, where he went in order to attend his son going out to the East Indies. We got the reconciling abstract about the 18th, when it appeared upon the face of it that there was a balance of above 25,000*l.* due to the public, on which I put an officer in charge directly, without waiting for the Surveyor-General.

Yours, &c.,
J. BERESFORD.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 20th March, 1781.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I this morning received your very kind letter, enclosing the address of the High-Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Waterford, to which I beg to trouble you with the enclosed answer. In some parts of your letter you amaze me, at others I am not surprised. It seems that you are born to be the scourge of collectors. We, the Crown lawyers, have been three whole days cooking answers to your queries upon ——'s business, but nothing short of a general law will put us on a par with Great Britain upon the subject of public delinquency and neglect.

His Excellency having, three weeks ago, appointed the 22nd instant to do me the honour of dining with me, has deprived me of the company of half my best

friends. How do you all find room, even at Curraghmore, for I understand you are not less than three score and ten at table every day? You know a great deal more news than I do, and I hope it is none to you that

I am truly and affectionately yours,

JOHN SCOTT.

MR. EDEN TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin Castle, March 21st, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—Many thanks for your melon-seeds, but I will reserve this branch of our correspondence for a separate letter on one of my Saturdays, when I retire to my garden, and exclude all politics and politicians. Lord North's taxes will give us many subjects of Parliamentary discussion and debate, and may possibly revive various questions that would otherwise have slept in peace; they will also, I apprehend, oblige us to recommence the long story of equalisation, but they will probably furnish the fund of taxation which we wanted, and upon the whole, from all that I can learn, I am by no means afraid of encountering the difficulty which that business may bring forward; it cannot produce any serious difficulty unless Lord Nugent, or some other Irish politician, should sound an alarm to us from St. Stephens. This country is, at this moment, right-headed and kindly-disposed, if frankly and fairly used; and nothing can be fairer than what you expect from us, or your new Duties. You seem to be going on well,

both at home and abroad. It is our object to appear uninteresting and insignificant to His Majesty's Ministers, but though we give them little trouble, they ought not totally to forget us. We are not fretfully disposed, but we cannot help remarking that we have not received one syllable, either public or private, from Downing Street, since we turned the corner on 3rd December. We have not had one word from the Minister or the friend. Dublin has been very full, but people are beginning to return into the country, which I cannot regret, for the extreme expensiveness of my situation, which is much beyond what I see in any English house, is beginning to bear very hard upon my resources, and has put me in debt to the Drummonds and to my brother. I hope in the next six months to retrench a little. I have ordered Jebb's pamphlet to be sent to you; it is clever, and circulates like wildfire, but I am vexed that he has used a blackguard expression about Rigby.*

Believe me,

My dear Sir,

Ever most truly and faithfully yours,

WM. EDEN.

* The Right Hon. Richard Rigby, of Mistley Hall, in Essex; Chief Secretary, Ireland, 1757; Master of the Rolls 1757 to 1788; Vice Treasurer 1768; Paymaster to the Forces 1768 to 1782; M.P. for Tavistock 1755 to 1788; died 1788.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO MR. ROBINSON.

12th June, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have not troubled you with any letter for some time, the best proof of my regard being not to take up your time, and when I have nothing to ask or complain of, you leave me no excuse to address you ; but having half a page to spare, it will only cost you a moment to hear that, as far as I can judge, Lord Carlisle and Mr. Eden furnish every reasonable ground of expectation that order and good government will be restored during the present Administration in Ireland, notwithstanding the difficulties, formidable indeed, that have been induced by the sordid selfishness, the timid incapacity, and treacherous duplicity of their immediate predecessors, and notwithstanding the mischievous and insidious attempts that are hourly practised to disturb the quiet and inflame the passions of the people of this kingdom, to such a degree as to render it a task sufficiently difficult for men of first-rate talents to conduct this country in industry and quiet, to the conclusion of a war in which the elasticity of Great Britain seems to increase in proportion as she is bent down by the weight of burthens and the force of enemies.

I am, with sincere regard, affectionately and steadily yours,

JOHN SCOTT.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, June 27th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wish you joy of the approaching conclusion of your session, which seems to have gone on as you could wish. There is a dead calm here, no manner of news. Business is in a good state of forwardness, so that I hope everything will be prepared in good time before the session begins (not as I have seen them), and, of course, that the session may be concluded in April or May. Our Revenue is beginning to be in a prosperous way; our discipline is growing better every day, and if we can get over the appointment of Parliamentary Collectors, we shall do very well.

Our Chancellor is declining fast, and in all human probability will not last long. You ought to be prepared for such an event; there will be a strong push made here for Lord Tracton. Lord Shannon, his friend and patron, is deserving of the attention of Government, whom he in his turn supports with a strong party; but I should apprehend that a Chancellor of your own, firmly attached to Government, with abilities and a sufficiency of political courage, would support you as well as a Chancellor attached to you only through another man. You know my attachment to some men in the Law here, and you may be sure that it would lead me to wish that this office might go in the Irish line, if I did not think that such a step would be attended with very bad consequences to this country, and great disadvantage to English Government. I make no apology for speaking

out upon such subjects, as I am sure you know my motives.

I am, my dear Sir, ever yours sincerely,
J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Aug. 8th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—We this day laid the first stone of the new Custom House, and have proceeded without interruption. We gain ground every day, in spite of every effort of those who think their properties will be injured.

The principal persons now working are Lord Meath^a and his brother, Lord Carhampton,^b and my friend Colonel Luttrell. The great reliance that they appear to have is on our friend Welbore Ellis, but I hope that he will not be induced by a mistaken fear of injury to his property to interfere. We have done everything for the advantage of the public. We have taken about 5 acres for 900*l.* a-year, a less rent than we paid before for little more than two roods. I am sure that I have

^a Anthony Brabazon, eighth Earl of Meath, son of Edmund, seventh Earl, and Martha Collins; born 1721; succeeded 1772; married, 1758, Grace Leigh; died 1790. His brother, William Brabazon, born 1723; M.P. for county of Wicklow; died 1790.

^b Simon Luttrell, first Earl of Carhampton, second son of Henry Luttrell, of Luttrellstown, and Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Jones, of Halkin, county Flint; born 1713; M.P. in English Parliament for St. Michael's; created, 1768, Baron Irnham; 1780, Viscount; 1785, Earl of Carhampton; married, 1737, Maria, daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Lawes; died 1787.

said enough to let you into my ideas on this subject without being more explicit; I know by experience that I can depend on you, but my reliance does not go much further.

I am ever most affectionately yours,

J. B.

MR. EDEN TO MR. ROBINSON.

Phoenix Park, 18th Aug., 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—By the active ability of Mr. Beresford, and other friends, aided by His Excellency's known firmness, the opposition to the new Custom House is more than counterbalanced by the junction of old opinions and new converts in favour of the undertaking. Lord North will of course be teased by individuals interested to have the King's order revoked. If the measure had been originally wrong, it would now be very prejudicial to all steady Government to revoke it. Being, however, as far as I can judge, an expedient and wise order, the completion of it ought on no account to be postponed. Having said this, I entreat you on no account to communicate either His Excellency's or my sentiments further than to Lord North. We stand on the high ground of enforcing the King's commands upon a point wherein His Majesty's authority is indisputable, and we studiously avoid any other ground which might show a leaning towards either party. Every expression used about us, even to people most

connected with Government, is sure to be sent over to Dublin.

Believe me, my dear Sir, most faithfully yours,

WM. EDEN.

MR. EDEN TO LORD NORTH.

Phoenix Park, Aug. 27th, 1781.

MY DEAR LORD,—A letter from the Minister, written as from a kind friend, is a very good cordial against the sickening circumstances of an Irish Secretaryship. I was made extremely happy, therefore, by your Lordship's letter from Eton; even the date of the old school was comfortable. "*Nescio quâ dulcedine tangit.*"

I have already informed your Lordship, both through Mr. Robinson and through Lord Hillsborough, that though it is discreet in my Lord-Lieutenant to take no part in the disputes about the New Custom House, we are well contented to carry the King's order into execution, and our Government would suffer most essentially, if after what has passed, and after the menaces of the mobs, tumults, &c., there should be any wavering in the business.

It is now pretty well understood in the Liberty, which is the riotous part of Dublin, that we are decided to preserve the peace of the city in a very effectual manner. His Excellency's steadiness makes its impression, the good sense of the business makes its daily proselytes, and I incline to believe that we have a force, even among the leathern aprons, in favour of the New Custom House very superior to the partizans for the old

one. In short, I can say to your Lordship without scruple, that the Treasury Board in England act most wisely in adhering to their order. We shall send you various counter-petitions, signed by more names than Colonel Luttrell's^a petitions, and this will raise such an obvious competition of interests, that His Majesty cannot be reasonably expected to give any early answer.

Our session is now approaching, and my Lord-Lieutenant will soon write very fully to you upon it. We shall of course be much baited by our adversaries, and be occasionally disappointed by our friends; but upon the whole there is every fair prospect that we shall do well, and I am not without hope of throwing a shade of dullness over the session, which I conceive at present to be a very eligible circumstance for both kingdoms.

We certainly arrived here at a very critical moment, and when every bond of Government was very loose; I am not without hope that a guarded and steady conduct may enable us to resign this situation with great advantage to our successors, whenever His Majesty shall be pleased to release us. An Irish Secretaryship is by no means what it used to be; the change of circumstances and the temper of the times, and the abolition of the State undertakers, have subjected it to much responsibility, and though I have thus far gone through

^a The Hon. Henry Lawes Luttrell, eldest son of Simon, first Lord Ingham (afterwards Earl of Carhampton), and Maria Lawes; born 1743; entered the army early, and served abroad; M.P. for Old Leighlin 1783, just gazetted Major-General; succeeded his father 1787; married, 1776, Jane Boyd; 1794, appointed to command a district of Ireland; 1796, Commander of the Forces in Ireland; died 1821.

it with cheerfulness, and hope to preserve the same tranquillity through the session, I feel that the hourly interruption and incessant attentions to which I am subject would in time wear down both my mind and body. I am the channel of all military business; I have the superintendence of the Ordnance, Barracks, the Treasury, and the Revenue Boards; the effective situation at the Councils; a large correspondence with the Ports, and with the magistracy of the kingdom; an eternal and boundless teasing for favours; the regulation of the revenue; the preparations of laws; a daily feasting at home or abroad; and all this subject to a constant anxiety and watchfulness not to risk a word or an expression that can be misinterpreted.

It is an additional care that, with a nunnery of young nymphs, who are annually multiplying in number, and in due time also will have various wants beyond the monastic grate, I am living at an expense which I cannot restrain within any convenient bounds, otherwise than by living in a style which would affect the weight of my situation.

I feel ashamed to keep possession of the Board of Trade, but Messrs. Drummonds' books can best tell that I am very unable to quit it, except for something better. If it could at any time be changed for an office more becoming to be held by an absentee, and of a kind to hold one up here in external estimation, I should be very glad; but I beg to be understood not to make any request, or to express a discontent. I already possess every reason to be grateful to your Lordship, and am devoted to His Majesty. I can only wish to be taken care of in England from a

right principle, for I could easily take care of myself here, if I did not feel that it would lower the height at which I think it right for His Majesty's service that I should hold myself in this kingdom. The Captain* is returned in good health. He and his friend, Sir James Erskine,^b keep house together, and though they are very pleasant and lively, I believe that they have read more than captains generally do.

My Lord-Lieutenant has repeatedly written to your Lordship, both through me and through Lord Hillsborough, on the essential importance of obtaining from you some small help of secret service money. We have hitherto, by the force of good words, and with some degree of private expense, preserved an ascendancy over the press, not hitherto known here, and it is of an importance equal to ten thousand times its cost; but we are without the means of continuing it, nor have we any fund to resist the factious attempts among the populace, which may occasionally be serious.

Believe me, my dear Lord, ever respectfully and affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

* The Hon. Francis North, second son of Lord North (the Minister); Aide-de-Camp to the Lord-Lieutenant 1786; afterwards fourth Earl of Guildford; married, 1810, Maria Boycott; died 1817.

^b Sir James St. Clair Erskine, Bart., eldest son of Sir Henry Erskine of Alva, Bart., and Janet Wedderburn, daughter of Peter, Lord Chesterhall, a Lord of Sessions, Aide-de-Camp to the Lord-Lieutenant 1780; born 1762; afterwards a general officer of distinction; succeeded, 1805, his uncle (the Lord-Chancellor) as Earl of Rosslyn; married, 1790, Harriet, daughter of the Hon. Ed. Bouverie, of Delapre Abbey; appointed Lord Privy Seal 1829; died 1837.

MR. EDEN TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Sept. 13th, 1781.

MY DEAR LORD,—I have not much confidence in Colonel Sandford's* actual embarkation in the line of hot service ; for his constitution is to the utmost degree crippled, and he is by no means in a state of vigour to be placed in the opposite scale to Hyder Ally. If, however, that arrangement goes forward, His Excellency, who has a very good opinion of Mr. Bailey's attention and Parliamentary steadiness, will be very glad to know that your Lordship's wishes coincide with his sentiments. I had informed Colonel Sandford before I received your Lordship's letter, that his acceptance of a regiment, when notified, would vacate his civil commission. Our session is drawing desperately near, and all preparations for it are much interrupted by this alarm of an invasion. We much regret that your Lordship has not found any means to assist us in the article of secret service. The press is the principal operative power in the government of this kingdom ; and we are utterly without means to influence that power. We are equally without means to counteract the wicked attempts occasionally made in the idle and populous part of this town to raise mobs, and to turn the rabble into ministers ; having, however, repeatedly represented these points, " which nobody can deny," we have done all that we can do, and

* Robert Sandford, third son of Robert Sandford, of Castle-reagh, county Roscommon, M.P., and Lady Henrietta O'Bryen, daughter of William, third Earl of Inchiquin ; born 1728 ; M.P. for borough of Roscommon 1768 and 1776 ; Major-General 1781 ; died 1786.

must continue to steer through the various difficulties of this Government as well as we can, without troops and without money, in the face of an armed people and general poverty. I meant to have added to this letter a full account of the extraordinary turn in the disposition of the volunteer corps through every part of this kingdom. We have already received Addresses from near two-thirds of the whole number, expressing the utmost zeal and loyalty, and desiring, if any danger should happen or be apprehended, to be employed in whatever manner His Excellency shall please to command. I must postpone what occurs to me on this matter, which tends, I think, to important consequences, till I can command half an hour, which, in the midst of so many bustles, I find at present impossible.

Believe me,

With the utmost respect and attachment,

Most faithfully yours,

WM. EDEN.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Sept. 29th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mrs. Beresford and I were made very happy by your last letter, as nothing can give us greater pleasure than hearing of anything advantageous and agreeable to your family. We most sincerely congratulate Miss Robinson, and wish her every happiness which this world can afford her. If most engaging manners, an

obliging disposition, and an amiable temper, can make a man happy, the man who marries her must be so.*

Ross^b is gone out on a Revenue inspection. I have sent a very able travelling tutor with him. I am very happy in being able to inform you that the Revenue is rising fast under the present regulations. The Import Duties depend so much upon circumstances, that my principal attention has been directed to those parts of the Revenue which I knew I could work upon with certainty, that is, the Inland Excise and Duties. The state is as follows, the last year compared with this:—

The Duties on Licenses have

risen	from	£27,930	to	£33,969
Excise on beer, ale, &c.	„	93,926	„	105,985
Excise on strong waters	„	71,715	„	104,259
		£193,571		£244,213
				193,571
				£50,642

I have, besides, inspectors out on the hearth money, who have already returned a rise of 1800*l.*; and I am clear that I shall raise that branch some thousands, and

* The Hon. Henry Neville, eldest son of George, Lord Abergavenny (created afterwards (1784) Earl), and Henrietta, daughter of Th. Pelham, of Stanmore; born 1755; succeeded as second Earl 1785; married, 1781, Mary, only child of J. Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury; died 1843.

^b The Right Hon. Colonel Robert Ross, M.P. for Carlingford 1760 and 1768; for Newry 1776, 1783, 1790, and 1797; appointed Commissioner of Revenue 1780 to 1799; died 1799.

not lean on the poor at all. I hope in the next to give you a still better account.

I am, my dear Sir,

Ever yours most affectionately,

J. B.

MR. EDEN TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, 13th Oct., 1781.

MY DEAR LORD,—Our session commenced on Tuesday last with much good temper towards His Excellency and Mr. Secretary, and with a disposition towards Great Britain less suspicious than was ever known, and tending almost to cordiality.

It is not difficult to prove that the fermentation of debate, and the incidents of popular discussion, may make a grievous change in all this harmony before Christmas-day. But thus far we have sailed before the wind.

We adjourned yesterday evening to the 29th; and I feel the fatigues of the week so much, that my chief dread at present is the want of constitution equal to the duties of the session. I shall be obliged, during eight weeks, to sit six days in every week, and to give great dinners on every Saturday and Sunday.

We had 198 Members at this meeting, 160 of whom were as decided friends to Government as Irish politics can admit. Our strength was so obvious, that we did not meet with anything tending even towards an attack; and the whole opening of the session is stated through

the kingdom with expressions of the utmost content, and without even an ill-natured remark in the most factious newspapers. All this will be satisfactory to your Lordship, as far as it goes; but I own that I have little confidence in its continuance. Notice is already given of questions to be brought forward on the 29th October, respecting ships to protect the trade, the Habeas Corpus, the Judges Bill, the Sugar Duties, the Mutiny Bill, the new Pension List, Poyning's Act, and the Portuguese business. There is also to be an attempt towards a Parliamentary Declaration of Rights. I am but ill-qualified, in the midst of other occupations, and without sufficient habits of speaking, to undertake all these teasings, in addition too to the public accounts and the Money Bills. Individuals, however, are so much more jealous of each other than they are of me, that I must stand in the front of the battle. I propose, with His Excellency's approbation, not to resist the Bills which have usually been transmitted, such as the Habeas Corpus Bill and the Judges Bill; but with regard to all other propositions of speculative and constitutional politics, I shall certainly, if I am supported in it, reject them at the outset. The consequences will be much passionate declamation within doors, and much libelling against me out of doors.

It is not easy, till we come to action, to say much of our supporters. Lord Shannon is in the most cordial confidence with us. The Duke of Leinster is in good humour, and thus far quite steady. Lord Ely, Lord Tyrone, and Mr. Conolly, are also very kind in their professions towards Government. The Provost shows every

disposition to give an uniform support hitherto. Mr. Flood stands quite aloof, though with a cold civility; but he is not in good health and spirits. The Attorney-General, and Mr. Beresford, and Mr. Foster, are all perfectly zealous and much attached to us. The Archbishop of Cashel, the Chancellor, and Lord Annaly have agreed yesterday at my office to be jointly responsible for the conduct of business in the House of Lords. We have also much dependence upon many separate individuals, who do not belong to any particular following, but who will probably show themselves with advantage on the side of Government during the session. I will not interrupt your Lordship further at present; but if you can very soon give me any intimations or commands respecting any of the points above mentioned, I shall be very happy to receive them. Lord Loughborough* left me yesterday.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Most respectfully and affectionately yours,
WM. EDEN.

LORD CARLISLE TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, 2nd Nov., 1781.

MY LORD,—In my private letter to Lord Hillsborough of this day's date, of which I have the honour

* Alexander Wedderburn, Lord Loughborough, son of Peter Wedderburn (a Lord of Session) and Janet Ogilvie; born 1733; called to the bar in England; appointed Solicitor-General 1771; Attorney-General 1778; Chief Justice of Common Pleas 1780; Lord Chancellor 1793; M.P. for Richmond 1767; for Bishop's Castle 1770; for Oakhampton 1774; created Baron Loughborough 1780; Earl of Rosslyn 1801; died 1805.

to enclose your Lordship a copy, I gave his Lordship an account of the debate of yesterday upon the motion made by Sir Lucius O'Brien for a Committee to inquire into the state of the trade of Ireland with Portugal. The part which Mr. Flood, one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland, took in support of the motion was too marked and decided to escape observation. When it was proposed to delay the consideration of the subject, he urged immediate proceeding, asserting that the loss of free trade lately granted to Ireland would be the consequence of procrastination; that he had no objection to the appointment of the Committee, except that it would tend to delay; that the House was in possession of sufficient information; and he recommended to them instantly to address His Majesty, the King of Great Britain and of Ireland, to use his influence effectually with the Court of Portugal, that Irish exports should be admitted as British; that a decision should take place before the sitting of the Committee of Supply; that though it might not be prudent to increase the Revenue by a duty on Portugal wines, the purpose with respect to Portugal might equally be answered by a diminution of the duties on French wines, which would be a preferable mode of pressing the Ministers to a spirited conduct, as a loss of Revenue is not generally agreeable to them. To the observation that the business was in negotiation by the King's Ministers—that he would not have it taken out of the hands of Parliament to put it into the hands of men who had destroyed the freedom of this country by a perpetual Mutiny Bill; that every word of that law was

written with the blood of the Constitution, and that he would move for a Bill to explain, amend, and limit the duration of that Act. Through the whole of his speech his abilities were exerted to excite a jealous distrust of British Administration, and to connect the subject before the House with every other popular ground of apprehension. Recommending firmness to the Members, he said if they failed they would be punished for their audacity, and that their spirit only could protect them; and sanctifying his opinion by the most solemn appeals, he asserted that the kingdom was in a worse condition than it was two years ago; and that upon the determination of that night hung the fate of the nation; concluding with announcing the blessings that would accompany their concurrence with the motion, and denouncing the execrations that would attend a contrary conduct.

Mr. Flood seemed to be fully aware of his situation, which he said was not to be flung away for a trifle; and from thence inferred the importance of the present question, saying that no consideration should turn him from his purpose; but that he would run all hazards.

I must observe that the inattentive conduct of Mr. Flood to this Administration, from my first arrival in this kingdom, did not give me much expectation of his support; but I hoped he would have avoided a style of opposition calculated to create suspicions, to foment dissatisfaction, and to keep the people of Great Britain and Ireland from that harmony which is essential to their happiness. I imagine that your Lordship will think this conduct indefensible in an officer of such high sta-

tion under the Crown ; and in duty to His Majesty, and regard to the welfare of his Government, I must state it to your Lordship to be laid before His Majesty. And if His Majesty shall think that Mr. Flood ought not any longer to remain in his service, I desire your Lordship will submit to His Majesty my humble recommendation of the Earl of Shannon to succeed Mr. Flood immediately in the office of one of the Vice-Treasurers, a nobleman whose powerful and steady support has distinguished him as an important friend to Government. The arrangements in consequence of this promotion shall be prepared with all expedition, in which your Lordship may be assured of my utmost attention to His Majesty's service ; and I have good reason to hope that your Lordship will find them attended with a considerable addition to the strength of Government.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servant,

CARLISLE.

MR. EDEN TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 3rd, 1781.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am at present in the fullest fever of a very feverish life ; thus far, however, it neither sours my temper, affects my spirits, nor hurts my health. Transfer to a smaller scale all the teasings in and out of the House of Commons, to which you are occasionally

subject, and add to that idea the aggravation of a total want of all order and propriety in the conduct of debates, your Lordship will then have some notion of the pretty purgatory which I am suffering.

With respect to the King's business, and the probable course of the session, I am not under any apprehension; the united abilities of Messrs. Flood, Grattan, Yelverton, Bushe, Ogle, &c., are likely to be very teasing, but not very formidable. They will, of course, force every improper subject into discussion, and will throw a ferment into the minds of the people out of doors, but they are not likely to carry improper questions, for we have a good, steady set of friends, consisting of about 140, and occasionally more. The Attorney-General, Mr. Beresford, Mr. Foster, and the Provost, are very zealous in their assistance to me, and among the younger men I have some good speakers and friends in Mr. Fitz Gibbon, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Corry,^a Mr. Hutchinson,^b &c. Mr. Daly is not yet come, but is personally well-disposed,

^a The Right Hon. Isaac Corry, called to the bar 1779; M.P. for Newry 1776, 1783, 1790, 1797; returned to Imperial Parliament for Dundalk 1800; appointed Commissioner of Revenue 1789; Chancellor of Exchequer 1799; succeeded by Mr. Foster 1804; died 1813.

^b The Hon. Richard Hutchinson, eldest son of the Right Hon. J. Hely Hutchinson and Christiana Nixon, Baroness Donoughmore; born 1756; M.P. for Dublin University 1776; for Taghmon 1783; succeeded his mother 1788; created Viscount 1797; Earl 1800; appointed, 1764, Second Remembrancer in the Exchequer; 1785, Commissioner of the Revenue, till 1802; when, on the retirement of Mr. Beresford, he was made First Commissioner; sworn of Privy Council 1796; elected a Representative Peer 1800; died 1825.

and it will be very essential to the King's affairs if we can decide him.

I do not enter into the business of Mr. Flood, as your Lordship will have heard fully from my Lord-Lieutenant. As we have avowed our resolution, and I have communicated it to Mr. Flood, I must observe to your Lordship that if you have the goodness to carry Lord Shannon's appointment into instant execution, it will be of essential consequence in all its impressions through the session, and a great arrangement depends on it; it would indeed be utterly impossible for the Lord-Lieutenant to remain here a fortnight, if what he recommends should not be approved. I have reason to believe that Mr. Ponsonby and all his friends (about ten) will join us next Tuesday, and upon a settled system. They will be a material addition to our weight and numbers, and Mr. George Ponsonby,* the second son, is a young man of talents for public life.

We shall be teased with the sugar business; I never could obtain from England any explanation of the reasons which decided Government to make 12*s.* 6*d.* Irish the bounty to compensate for the new duty of 5*s.* 6*d.*

* The Right Hon. George Ponsonby, second son of the Right Hon. J. B. Ponsonby (the Speaker in 1756) and Lady Elizabeth Cavendish; born 1755; called to the bar 1780; Counsel to the Board of Revenue 1782; M.P. for borough of Wicklow 1778; for Inistioge 1783 and 1790; for the borough of Galway 1797; returned to the Imperial Parliament for county of Wicklow 1802; 1808, for Tavistock; 1812, for Peterborough; appointed, 1806, Lord Chancellor of Ireland; married, 1781, Lady Mary Butler, daughter of Brinsley, second Earl of Lanesborough; died 1817.

Irish. It would be material if I could receive this by the messenger.

I am, my dear Lord,
Ever respectfully and affectionately yours,
WM. EDEN.

LORD CARLISLE TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 9th, 1781.

MY DEAR LORD,—Mr. Flood, one of the Vice-Treasurers of this kingdom, having given notice that before the Committee of Supply should sit he would lay before the House some observations upon the present state of the nation, which he asserted to be in a worse condition than it was two years ago, he, yesterday, upon the order of the day being read for the House to resolve itself into the Committee of Supply, moved that the order should be postponed, urging that he had not yet had time to consider the subject with sufficient extent; but, finding that the House was disposed to go into the Committee, he entered into his statement, which extended very little further than to an enumeration of the public debt at different periods, showing how much it had increased in peace as well as in war, and insisted upon the necessity of equalising the current income with the current expense. He took occasion to recapitulate the popular questions in which he had formerly opposed Government, and claimed the merit of a disinterested attachment to the interests of the people. The debate having, at least, upon the part of Mr. Flood, fallen into

the desultory manner usual in committees, he was answered, from time to time, with great precision and ability by the Attorney-General, Mr. Foster, the Provost, and Mr. Eden; and Mr. Flood having asserted that this was a falling and ill-judging country, he was driven, by the pointed observations of those gentlemen, to explain his sentiments by confining its application solely to the revenues of the country.

Mr. George Ponsonby, early in the debate, supported Government with great spirit, and the most promising talents, and intimated the intention of his family and friends to take a decided part on the same side. Mr. Daly exerted the most forcible powers of argument and elocution, and remarking upon Mr. Flood's first sentiments of the present state of the country, he pronounced the reverse to be the truth; he reprobated sending forth such melancholy ideas amongst the people, as tending to poison their minds, and to make them forget the advantages they had acquired by the just and liberal conduct of Great Britain. He maintained that those advantages were great, substantial, and permanent, and that the petty grievances which men still complained of were of trifling importance, when compared with the benefits this country had received. He joined with Mr. Ponsonby in saying that this was the time for every man of fortune and consideration to join with Government, and assist to calm the minds of the people, and to encourage them to industry, by which alone those laws, which Mr. Flood represented to be dead letters, were to receive their life and vigour.

Mr. Flood's motion was supported by Mr. O'Hara

Sir F. Flood, Sir E. Newenham, Mr. Grattan, The Recorder, Mr. Ogle, Sir Henry Hartstonge, Mr. Metge, and Mr. Yelverton. The other Members who spoke in support of Government, were Mr. Fitz Gibbon, who declared his intention of continuing that support, Mr. Mason, Mr. Green, the Prime Serjeant,* Sir Henry Cavendish, and Mr. Serjeant Fitz Gerald. The question for postponing the Committee was put about nine o'clock, and the numbers were 49 against 155. The House having resolved itself into the Committee, went through all the articles of Supply, which kept them sitting till near six o'clock this morning. I must observe to your Lordship, that upon Mr. Flood's question Mr. Grattan spoke very few words, and can hardly be said to have entered into the debate, that Mr. Burgh quitted the House and did not vote, and that Mr. Bushe voted with the majority. I have great satisfaction in finding the King's business so happily forwarded at this early season, and I have every reason to hope it will be concluded with correspondent success and despatch. Of this, at least, your Lordship may be certain, that nothing shall be wanting on my part to accomplish so desirable an end.

It is necessary to remark to your Lordship that some gentlemen are so involved in some of the popular questions which will doubtlessly be agitated this session, that I cannot expect them now to take an opposite part. The majority, therefore, may possibly not be so great upon the intended motion for altering the Mutiny Bill.

I have the honour to enclose to your Lordship three

* Prime Serjeant The Hon. James Browne.

papers, which will explain the plan of finance for raising the supplies, which I hope will meet with your Lordship's approbation. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

CARLISLE.

MR. ROBINSON TO MR. EDEN.

9th Nov., 1781.

DEAR SIR,—Being at present so very much engaged as to render it impossible for me to write to you with my own hand, I trust you will excuse me for using another to acquaint you that I have received Lord North's directions to prepare a warrant for His Majesty's signature for the appointment of Lord Shannon to be Vice-Treasurer instead of Mr. Flood, which will be carried into execution with all possible despatch, but cannot, I fear, be sent to you before next week, as it will take some time to get it signed and countersigned, two of our Lords only being yet in town.

I have the honour to remain,

Most faithfully yours,

J. ROBINSON.

LORD CARLISLE TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 10th, 1781.

MY DEAR LORD,—By my despatches of this night to Lord Hillsborough, which are equally intended for your Lordship's perusal and attention, you will observe

that the foundations of security and strength which I hope, by your concurrence, to be enabled to lay, are such as do not only regard my own ease in getting through this session of Parliament, but are such as may, in their more remote good effects, reach my successor, whenever it shall please His Majesty to dispense with my services. In looking forward with some eagerness towards the completion of the business which makes the subject-matter of these despatches, one reflection naturally occurs to me, very distressing to my feelings: By these extensive arrangements, every employment that Mr. Eden could with credit accept, at my recommendation, is appropriated to different individuals. His industry and labour are beyond any requital, because they cannot fail of being prejudicial to his health, and his manner of living must greatly exceed the inadequate provision allotted to the Secretary of the Lord-Lieutenant. At my earnest request, he exposes his situation to your Lordship, both as a Minister and his private friend, but submits, more to your justice than your friendship, some proposition concerning himself, which I am persuaded you cannot deem unreasonable. The eager and generous manner in which he has laboured to bring this very difficult business to an issue, without the most distant regard to his own interests, which are evidently affected by it, demands, at least from me, every acknowledgment of so disinterested a conduct. His own letter will best explain his ideas to your Lordship. I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, with the greatest respect,

Your most sincere friend and humble servant,

CARLISLE.

MR. EDEN TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 10th, 1781.

MY DEAR LORD,—His Excellency addresses a secret despatch this evening to your Lordship, and to Lord Hillsborough, which states a very complete success in a plan, which we had long had in view, for the purpose of breaking all the strength and weight of Opposition. It is impossible for your Lordship, at a distance from this scene, to form an adequate idea of the dangerous circumstances under which we opened the session; and, indeed, if the gentlemen who were expected to act in concurrence with Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan had decided upon that line of conduct, very serious consequences might have been apprehended from such a combination, and their influence upon the heated disposition of an armed people.

I am most truly happy, therefore, to inform your Lordship that Mr. Daly, Mr. G. Ponsonby, and his whole connection, Mr. Bushe, Mr. Fitz Gibbon, and several inferior but respectable men, have avowed their intention to give a steady and decided support to His Excellency's Administration. My Lord-Lieutenant has stated all the circumstances of this transaction, and its points of collateral importance; nothing, indeed, can more fully prove it than our voting this evening two years' supply without a word of debate, or one dissentient voice, though Mr. Flood attended as usual, and tried to provoke a discussion. I do not enter into par-

ticulars ; indeed, I have had a fatiguing week in every respect. On Thursday I was obliged to see 53 gentlemen separately in the course of the morning, from eight till two o'clock, from which hour till six the next morning I was in the House of Commons. I should have also mentioned, that Mr. Hussey Burgh is also understood to be not unfriendly. Our eventual patronage is much mortgaged by this business ; but the result is of such essential and permanent importance to His Majesty's interests, that it was impossible to have hesitated. Except on the Mutiny Bill, upon which our new friends are committed rather deeply by past conduct, I do not think we have any material debate to apprehend ; the Sugar business will be troublesome, but we are amply equal to it. And now, my dear Lord, before I conclude, allow me to submit to your consideration a few lines respecting myself. I may flatter my own vanity by the decisive influence which, under His Excellency's instructions and for the King's service, I at present possess here ; but I should not forget that my private situation is suffering. The expense at which I am living is beyond all bounds of domestic prudence, but not more than is expedient to my official line ; and the arrangements now proposed preclude me from any early, and perhaps from every reasonable hope of assisting my income here. If then, His Majesty, either as a mark of his approbation, or as an instance of his benevolence, would be pleased to dispose of my seat at the Board of Trade, and to place me in any office of the Privy Council rank, I should feel both gratified and essentially assisted ; but I

do not desire your Lordship even to mention this wish if inconsistent with your convenience, or in your opinion likely to be unacceptable to His Majesty.

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Ever most respectfully yours,

WM. EDEN.

MR. EDEN TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 14th, 1781.

MY DEAR LORD,—Our debate on the Mutiny Bill was carried triumphantly by the prevalence of Members against abilities. Almost the whole strength of speaking, and perhaps too, the strength of the argument, was with the minority. However, we did as well as we could; and partly by exertions, but chiefly by management, the business is for the present well closed, and I do not think that the declamations of our opponents will have any effect among the people. Government stands high in the opinion of the day; but it is teasing and ticklish work. The jealousies of individuals and of the people are innumerable, incessant, and unaccountable.

We hope to transmit the Money Bills so early as next week; and we earnestly entreat that they may not be delayed. The importance of expediting their return is not to be described. As soon as they are cleared, I am to bring forward some inquiries into abuses of the public bounties, and defects in the collection of the Revenue.

With respect to these points, we have ample materials and good support.

His Excellency is much obliged to your Lordship for your quick despatch of Mr. Flood's business. Have the goodness to tell me, as a matter of curiosity, whether the King continues him in the English Privy Council.

I enclose, for your private amusement, the rough notes which I took for my own amusement last night, whilst Grattan was speaking. They show a profusion of imagination, but a dearth of argument. God send us good news from America!

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Respectfully and affectionately yours,
WM. EDEN.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, Nov. 30th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—Although I take it for granted that you know it already, yet as very few here do, and as it is possible that there may be a game playing unknown to you, I think it right to let you know my opinion of Mr. Forth's visit here, which I have formed, not upon actual knowledge, but by putting things together, and from thence conjecturing.

In the course of this summer, Lord Tracton has been in England; and I need not tell you that he has been soliciting to succeed the Lord Chancellor. Among other people, he has applied to Lord Mansfield, to what effect I do not know, or whether he has employed Forth;

but this I am confident of, that Lord Tracton and Forth have had several conferences on that subject since the arrival of the latter; and that he (Forth) has also made some proposition to the Chancellor, which the latter has declined. Of these matters (which I have not mentioned to anyone besides yourself), I think it right to inform you, as it can do no harm. I wrote to you my sentiments fully last summer, when the Chancellor was very ill; and I am stronger in my opinion then given than I was even at that time. Lord Lifford's constitution is much broken, and he probably cannot hold out long. I advised you to be prepared for such an event; and believe me, if you are not, and with a man of ability and firmness on whom you and Government can have a perfect reliance, you will have great reason to repent it. The office of Chancellor is the only one which it is absolutely necessary for England to keep in her own hands, and which it is most highly for the interest of this country should not get into the hands of an Irishman, and particularly of an Irishman attached to any particular party. Let his conduct be what it might, the public would never be contented with it; the idea revolts the people of this country; and I do assure you that I remember well, when Lord Bowes died, that the alarm was general lest any of the Irish candidates should succeed; and when the present man came over, and that the disappointed candidates endeavoured to raise a combination against him, he was immediately taken up by the public for no other reason than that he was an *Englishman*, *from whom they expected impartiality*. If I were with you, I should say much more on this subject; but I

have said enough to make you think of the consequence of this measure to the public, and the danger to the Government, if the degree of power which would follow such a step was added to what at present exists, and that any circumstance should induce the possessor to make a bad use of it.

Of the business of the session, I need not inform you that everything goes on just now as well as we could wish. If we pass the ides of March, all will be right; but I fear the Christmas recess, when employments are to be given away. That is the time which will give offence, and breed discontent; and our fault is, that we are too confident, and, perhaps, too fond of hearing a voice which prudence would seldom exert; however, as yet, all is right and well.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO THE RIGHT HON. ISAAC BARRÉ.

Dublin, April 7th, 1782.

MY DEAR BARRÉ,—Barb received your letter yesterday, and will write to you herself. When I wrote to you from Curraghmore I had little imagination that I was addressing so great a man as the Treasurer of the Navy. I believe, however, that I need not tell you, that no part of the late revolution has given me so much pleasure as that event, and, that feeling very much for some friends, nevertheless I rejoice at your situation.

Your letter yesterday, and one from Lord Townshend,

have made me tolerably easy in my mind. I am perfectly easy in regard to my friend Robinson, to whom I owe many obligations, and whom I must always regard. He is, I know, in circumstances which do not require the emoluments of office, and I think it a great happiness to him, indeed the only means of preserving his life, to have been forced out of it.

We have as yet here an imperfect idea of your new arrangements ; however, we understand that Lord Shelburne is to take the lead. I sincerely hope it may be so, for public as well as private reasons, as I am not acquainted with any other member of the Administration except Mr. Burke.

In such a situation, with the Treasury connected as it is with this kingdom, and a new Lord-Lieutenant coming over, I wish to have somebody to inform the Duke of Portland* that he will find a man at the head of the Revenue who is neither a fool nor a scoundrel.

Whether Lord Shelburne takes the lead generally or not, from his situation in the southern department, he must have the care of this country, and I hope for his own sake that he will really attend to it ; for, believe me, things are become very serious here. If his Lordship should at any time wish for any information which it is

* William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, third Duke of Portland, son of William, second Duke, and Lady Margaret Harley, daughter of Edward, Earl of Oxford ; born 1738 ; succeeded 1762 ; appointed, 1765, Lord Chamberlain ; 1782, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland ; 1788, First Lord of the Treasury ; 1794, Secretary of State, to 1801 ; 1801, President of Council, till 1805 ; 1807, First Lord of the Treasury ; married Lady Dorothy Cavendish, daughter of William, fourth Duke of Devonshire 1766 ; died 1809.

in my power to give him, you know that you may command it.

Believe me to be sincerely yours,

J. BERESFORD.

COLONEL BARRÉ TO COLONEL FITZPATRICK.*

DEAR SIR,—You left us so abruptly, and had your mind so occupied with the duties of your new office, that I could not with propriety speak to you fully on a subject which I have much at heart.

Mr. Beresford is a very particular friend of mine; his rank and connexions in Ireland are considerable; and, what will appear of more importance to you in your present position, he is one of the most efficient officers of the Crown there. His knowledge and integrity have recommended him to many of your predecessors. Under this impression of his character, I can not but recommend him strongly to your particular attention, and, if you will give me leave, to your friendship.

I am almost a stranger to the Lord-Lieutenant, and so little of a politician, that I was obliged to ask for

* The Right Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, second son of John, first Earl of Upper Ossory, and Lady Evelyn Gower, daughter of John, first Earl Gower; born 1748; entered early into the Guards; M.P. for Oakhampton 1771; for Tavistock 1774, 1780, 1784, 1790, 1796, 1802, 1807; appointed Secretary to Ireland 1782; 1783, Aide-de-Camp to the King; Secretary at War 1783; again 1806; died 1813.

advice at Shelburne House, where I was told that this letter would produce all the effect that I desired.

You have my best wishes.

I remain yours most sincerely,

ISAAC BARRÉ.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin Castle, April 15th, 1782.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I know that you hate formalities, but in the course of thanking some of our friends for all the kindnesses which they have shown to me, my heart would upbraid me if I neglected to express the affectionate sense that I shall ever entertain of your most honourable and most friendly conduct in all the various intercourse which passed between us during the late Administration.

Continue to me your friendship, and believe me, ever most cordially and sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Tuesday, 16th April, 1782,

The first hour after the Duke of Portland's arrival.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Having heard that a motion is not unlikely to be made this day in the House of Commons, tending to mark a favourable opinion of my zealous services to the late Lord-Lieutenant and the public, and having also been informed that such a

motion may be misconstrued by some in a way indirectly displeasing towards His Majesty's present Government, I think it right to say, that I would not on any consideration, if I can prevent it, be the subject of such a construction. I request, therefore, of your favour and friendship towards me, to use your influence with any Member of the House (whose partiality may have induced him to think of such a motion), and to solicit on my part that, for the reasons above mentioned, it may be entirely postponed.

I am most faithfully yours,

WM. EDEN.

MR. SCOTT TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, April 26th, 1782.

MY DEAR ROBINSON,—I did not think it possible that I should have found it necessary to trouble you upon a subject of which I wish to inform you. You are not unacquainted with my situation and services, having been for twelve years either Counsel to the Revenue Board, or Solicitor or Attorney General. His Majesty and his Ministers have done me the honour to approve of my conduct in these different stations under the Crown. I have given no offence, except to the rabble, in supporting what, as a man of honour and truth, I believed to be the laws of the country. I hear now with astonishment, and with some degree of indignation, that I am to be removed, and when I asked Mr. Fitzpatrick whether I might hope for the same favour

which I had experienced from former Administrations, and whether my future conduct was to be the test of my pretensions under the Duke of Portland's Administration, he answered me dryly, that he did not know the sense of Government upon that subject.

Now only imagine the folly of such treatment to a man, who is to be dismissed merely for doing his duty faithfully. I have at the peril of my life, in a time of violence, asserted the law of the land, accepted too as such, and his Grace of Portland, an English Chief Governor, strips me of the station and honour which I have acquired through five successive English Administrations, fairly, gradually, and honestly.

Believe me ever yours sincerely,

J. SCOTT.

MR. BERESFORD TO COLONEL BARRÉ.

Dublin, May 3rd, 1782.

MY DEAR BARRÉ,—If I had not entire confidence as well in your prudence as your friendship, nothing would induce me, at a period like the present, to commit a single sentiment to paper; but when I am confident that I can rely upon you, I cannot, loving both my native country and Great Britain, refrain from writing to you on the present situation of this country, however hazardous such a proceeding might appear to others.

The temper of the people at present is such that, if it be not managed with the greatest skill and nicety, there is no saying what the issue may be. The nature of

mankind is prone to run from one extreme to the other, and it is in a peculiar manner the disposition of Ireland to be always in extremes. The almost unaccountable situation in which we find ourselves at this day, having emerged from a state, if not of slavery, at least of obscurity, into a nation, has inspired the bulk of the people with ideas of their own consequence, perhaps much higher than the real truth, and we are apt to attribute the whole of our present situation to an imaginary strength, which we suppose we possess from our armed associations, without allowing anything for the relative situations of the two countries. This idea is propagated with the utmost industry, because it answers the private purposes of individuals, and it is swallowed universally because it flatters the pride and increases the consequence of every man belonging to those corps, each of whom is willing to accept of a large share or the whole of the merit arising from the result of a concurrence of events. With this disposition of mind, and with those ideas of consequence, our people have made certain demands to you which you will find difficult to refuse.

It was early foreseen that the spirit of the people would force a measure declaratory of our rights, as it is called, or, in other words, would no longer submit to the usurped right of your Parliament to make laws for us; and it was thought prudent, by a repeal of 6th George I., to quiet the minds of the people, and if that had been done, I am satisfied that every one would have been contented, thinking that a great deal had been gained. But the measures which have been taken tend to raise

the ideas and spirit of the people, and the leaving the country without any Government, I may say, for so long a period, has done infinite mischief. If you Ministers of England imagine that you can rule this country by the same modes that you do England, you are very much mistaken; what might answer very well with you will have a contrary effect here. You cannot govern this kingdom by popularity, it would annihilate the consequence of those persons who now guide the spirit of the people. If a Chief Governor was to be too popular, if all grievances were removed, the leaders of faction among the volunteers would be reduced to the level of their neighbours; and therefore Government here will find that they must take up the reins, and guide the State, even although they lose thereby a certain amount of popularity, and they may be certain that they will do so as soon as they exert themselves.

When his Grace arrived here he sent directly for all the leaders of Opposition, even to those of faction; he settled with them the mode of sending the King's message, and he left to them the preparation of the Address in answer to it.

Having said this much upon general matters, let me tell you that unless some measures are taken to form an Administration here before Monday three weeks, the day to which our House this day adjourned, his Grace will find himself much embarrassed, for dissatisfaction already appears among individuals.

Believe me to be ever sincerely yours,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ALLAN.

Dublin, 7th May, 1782.

MY DEAR ALLAN,—I sit down with a heavy heart to inform you of the dismissal of our worthy friend John Lees. He dined with me this day, and just as we were sitting down to dinner, a letter came to inform him that it was his Grace's intention that he should not continue any longer to act as Under-Secretary in the War Department, and that he might deliver the office up to Sackville Hamilton, until such time as a successor should be appointed. He has answered that he would do as he was desired. This is the reward of long and faithful services to Government. It will, moreover, not stop here. I have little time, and I am not in a very good temper to state more.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Saturday, 25th May, 1782.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have felt an unwillingness to write to Ireland, because I am rather embarrassed as to what I ought to say. I cannot say much respecting myself without seeming to bear against the judgment and right feelings of others, whom I shall always value, though I may not exactly concur in particular circumstances of their conduct. Perhaps it is enough to say, with regard to my own situation, that I am living in

friendship with many very valuable connections here ; that we abstain from everything which may show an impatience, or a disposition to embarrass an untried Administration ; that, individually speaking, I have not chosen to enter into any communication with any of our new masters respecting my own views, pretensions, or claims ; that I have taken a farm, pleasantly situated about twelve miles from town, and six from my Greenwich apartments, to which I shall in a few days retire with Mrs. Eden and the children ; I do not suppose that I shall stir from it till next November ; I have taken it for seven years. I can turn my plate into ploughshares with extreme and real composure, and in my reduced state shall be as happy as ever I have been in more splendid employments ; but I am cut to the heart about our friends in Ireland, more especially as I have reason to doubt whether the folly of the system adopted respecting them is not still in progress. I think that poor Lees will somehow be honourably indemnified, but God knows how ! It was an abominable and dishonourable cruelty to adopt and to act upon such unworthy suspicions respecting him, partly on the surmise of interested men, and partly on the foolish calumny of a very silly man.

These repetitions of good news from the West Indies are very comforting to the friends of late Government, and are not received with the best grace by the new Ministers, who had an ambition to claim the merit of saving the country. From this they are now precluded. The advantage gained is absolutely decisive on

this campaign, so far as the West Indies and North America are concerned.

Say everything proper from me to all friends ; I have many in Ireland whom I value in my heart, and yet they may misconstrue me, unless you watch them.

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Dublin, May 25th, 1782.

MY DEAR LORD,—I received yours of the 18th, and rejoice most heartily with you in the events which have happened both in the East and West Indies, events which would have been glorious when Great Britain was most respectable, but which are considered now as something above human—humiliating consideration to those who do not change their opinions or their feelings with the events of the day!

When I recount to you the treatment of the King's faithful servants in this country, I know that I speak to a man who feels it with the same honest impatient indignation that glows in my own breast. Good God! could any man, who knows the characters of men, believe that not only John Lees and his nephew should be removed from office, but that their good fame should be attempted to be filched from them?—that Scott, Carleton, Brown, and poor Copinger should be removed without a reason assigned, or even the smallest notice given

them,—nay, that it should be worth while to descend to so very contemptible a man as Warden Flood to deprive him of bread? But so it is, and their successors are appointed even before the late officers were at all informed of the intentions of Government.

Mr. Yelverton is our new Attorney-General; Mr. Forbes, Solicitor-General; Mr. Burgh, Prime Serjeant; Mr. Ponsonby, Counsel to the Commissioners; and Mr. Metge, Judge of the Admiralty Court.

There is something peculiarly cruel and tyrannical in the case of Copinger. Family misfortunes have reduced him in such a manner that his liberty and his absolute existence depended totally upon his office; deprived of that, they had better have hanged him, and yet he is turned out of a place neither ministerial nor confidential, merely to make room for a boy of two years' standing at the bar.

I forbear to make those remarks which must arise to every honest mind, nor shall I at present foretell to you what will certainly be the consequence before the end of that session of Parliament which we are told we are to hold in October next.

As to myself, I know not what may be my fate; I do not expect, however, that I shall be disturbed: perhaps I am mistaken, but I judge from this only, that it would not answer to them in any way, for, I thank God, I am strong in friends, I am not weak in myself, and I stand too well in the public opinion to be ill-treated; but, let things go as they may, I have, my dear Lord, a mind superior to anything that can be attempted against me.

I have always done my duty ; the public are the better for me, since my late appointment at Lady Day, 1781, 72,459*l.*, and this year, I am sure, above 90,000*l.*, the particulars of which I will soon send you. My wife is firm-minded and prepared, and let what will happen, I am a man, and will ever love you and your most amiable wife.

Yours sincerely,

J. B.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. EDEN.

Dublin, June 7th, 1782.

MY DEAR EDEN,—I have waited for some days, expecting that I might have it in my power to write something certain to you concerning your friends, but I now think that will not be possible for some time. I know that you hear from Lees and Cooke the general news of the town, and I believe that you can hear nothing more upon better foundation than conjecture.

Yesterday, Mr. Fitzpatrick notified in form to our Board the appointment of Mr. Sheridan to the War Office ; our friend Lees does not bear his present situation with as much firmness as I could wish, and Scott sinks under his ; there are, to be sure, circumstances in Lees' treatment which must wound the mind of an honourable man, but a proper spirit, which I am sure he will show upon the subject, will put him above his enemies. Scott's family misfortunes are heavy, and he

has himself been laid up now for a week in a rheumatic fever, and his wife's brother given over. Scott is better, and the boy out of danger, I hope; Mrs. Scott is so much recovered, that I think she will do well again, the alteration in her is incredible, and I never saw her in such spirits; Scott is otherwise, and I think will remain so for some time, at least as long as there is any uncertainty about his reversion; for the exertions which his resentment prompts him to make are so restrained by the fears incident to his situation as to this reversion, that there is a perpetual conflict in his mind, which his natural disposition will not allow him to conquer.

The rest of your friends remain in uncertainty. Much was said in Parliament of Reforms, Black Montgomery demanded to know when they were to begin; Mr. Fitzpatrick replied that Government deserved confidence, and meant to arrange between this and next session, which would be held in October. Montgomery then asked how long the gentleman intended to honour this country with his presence, and whether he had insured his stay for a sufficient time to make this Reform. From this you see we are handed over from Government to the Castle; for my own part, I would rather have stood the judgment of my Peers, and I have it in contemplation to demand an examination into the conduct of the Revenue the very first opportunity which offers. I keep myself entirely quiet; I go every Thursday up with the abstract, am kept always from one to two hours waiting; I go in, deliver my papers, answer any questions I am asked, make my bow, and retire. I have not been within the corner house but once since you left it.

General Burgoyne^a got a Treasury Order to land his goods without duty.

As far as I can find, there is no confidence between his Grace and his Secretary, nor between the Castle and any of the new Ministers; Mr. Ponsonby is the only real confidant; he advises everything, and I know certainly that his Grace's inclinations are communicated to Yelverton, Burgh, &c., through George Ponsonby; Mr. O'Bierne^b is the confidential Secretary. With so wise and so well-connected an Administration, Great Britain and Ireland ought to be well satisfied, and much mutual advantage is, I think, to be expected!

Dissatisfaction is very general within the walls of the Octagon, and some little has appeared; Mr. Flood yesterday debated Poyning's law until eight; I ought to have said the Bill to repeal Poyning's law. He had much the best of the argument, was right in his ideas, and said some sharp things of Ministers on both sides the water.

Daly seems to be a marked man by them, and I suspect that they have thoughts of getting rid of him. If they do, I imagine they think of George Ogle to succeed him. As to myself, I expect no great favour

^a The Right Hon. General John Burgoyne, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland 1782; M.P. for Preston 1767 to 1792; married Lady Charlotte Stanley, daughter of Edward, eleventh Earl of Derby; died 1792.

^b The Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Bierne, originally educated for a Roman Catholic Priest, took orders in the established Protestant Church; came over as Chaplain and Private Secretary with the Duke of Portland to Ireland 1782; returned, in 1795, with Lord Fitzwilliam in the same capacity; consecrated Bishop of Ossory 1795; promoted to Meath 1798; died 1829.

from them ; I have made up my mind to anything that can happen, and what is more material to me, so has my wife, and that being the case, I can defy them.

Ever yours most affectionately,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. EDEN.

Dublin, June 19th, 1782.

MY DEAR EDEN,—If Mr. Fitzpatrick should proceed with as much expedition from hence to London as he did from thence hither, he may possibly inform you, before you receive this, that he is arrived in your metropolis ; but as it is possible he may not inform you of the cause of his journey, I shall endeavour to give you the best account I can,—but as it is now near eleven o'clock, it must be short.

You have heard, no doubt, that Mr. Flood has insisted that Mr. Yelverton's Bill to repeal Poyning's law was insufficient ; on this debate he was borne down : he next attacked the sufficiency of a simple repeal of the 6th Geo. I., and showed that such a repeal was inadequate to our security, and no renunciation of the right ; in conclusion he proposed a silly resolution, which was superseded by the order of the day ; the order was a Bill to enable the bishops to make long leases, &c. ; this was gone into, and every man except those concerned went away ; in a very thin House, Grattan rose, and stated that he was dissatisfied with what was doing concerning the 6th Geo. I. ; that he thought a simple repeal insuf-

sufficient, and must have something more ; that he was unwilling to attempt to force the delicacy or wound the pride of Great Britain by insisting on a renunciation of the right ; and that he wished to avoid moving for an Act here declaratory of our rights until after the repeal of the 6th Geo. I., as he did not see how the King could give it the Royal Assent, but that he would after the repeal insert as a preamble to some Bill, he believed a Post-Office Bill, a Declaration of Rights, which being passed under the Great Seal of Britain would be sufficient. Mr. Fitzpatrick opposed the idea, said a simple repeal came up to our demand, and was sufficient, and that any attempt to go further would hazard everything, threatening that there was an end to all compact if this was attempted. This happened on Tuesday ; the whole time since has been spent in negotiation. Grattan is firm to propose something which he means to be moderate, and Government is resolved to oppose it ; tomorrow is the day. Grattan said, and says, that what Fitzpatrick said makes it more necessary to do something, and that he would be unjustifiable if he was silent, when you have passed an Act allowing the import of sugar from the lately-conquered islands to be imported into *all* His Majesty's dominions in Europe.

A breach is made, they have fallen out ; new men are to be sought. Ponsonby drives too hard and fast for Fitzpatrick, who is certainly tired already of his situation, and I doubt his return ; he goes off as soon as we make recess, and you may depend upon it all is afloat.

I have many other reasons to be certain that they think their Government highly precarious.

A Bill is passed to disfranchise all revenue officers not having 200*l.* a-year. I fought them, but Fitzpatrick supported the Bill, and beat me, of course; however, I took that opportunity of vindicating the management of the Revenue, which Mr. George Ponsonby attacked, and stated, in answer to his assertion that offices were created to increase influence, that it might have been so formerly, but was not so now, and instanced the increase in every seven years since his father was first appointed. This appeared so glaring, that I was heard with great indulgence and strongly cheered. Fitzpatrick answered, and was surprised that I could think the disposal of revenue offices did not increase the influence of the Crown, which ought to be diminished. I replied I did not think it did; that I allowed it increased the patronage of the reigning Chief Governor, but that it did not follow that it increased the influence of the Crown; but that I stood up for the defence of the Board of Revenue, not the influence of the Crown—that was entrusted to other people, in whose hands I was certain it was perfectly safe.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. EDEN.

Abbeville, June 17th, 1782.

MY DEAR EDEN,—After much negotiation with Mr. Grattan, through Lord Charlemont and others, he was prevailed upon not to adhere to his first intention of moving a Declaration of Rights as a preamble to a Bill.

However, on Friday last he stated fully the Act passed in England to allow the import of the goods of the newly-conquered islands into all His Majesty's dominions in Europe. He showed the extent of it; but said he did not impute it to design in Ministers, but that such things must not be. However, he did not wish to do more than state it, which his duty to the people, whose servant he was, required. Flood took it up; pressed hard upon Mr. Grattan; showed the old story over again, that a repeal of the 6th Geo. I. was not a renunciation; that the law he mentioned was an exercise of it; and what was worse was, that the Lords had inserted a clause in the Act of Repeal to save all lodged before the 1st August. A long altercation ensued between him and Grattan. The former at length moved, that a question be referred to the Judges, whether the repeal of a declaratory law was a renunciation of right. In the course of this dispute, Grattan let out enough to show that Government cannot possibly expect any support from him if the people differ with them in opinion. In short, even the Duke of P. begins to see that the ground is hollow; the people will begin to be uneasy very soon, and if some new measures are not taken, there will be a blow-up. They are negotiating privately for four provincial regiments of three battalions each, with a general and three colonels. They mean to pay them with the savings of the 5000 men granted to England. This very measure has before burned the fingers of more than one. The mode of raising the 20,000 seamen may also get them into a scrape; every volunteer who brings a man is to have a guinea, over

and above the 5*l*. to the man. As to official business, there is none done. Jack Hamilton is very ill—Mangin^a in the ague.

Yours affectionately,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Downing Street, July 5th, 1782.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I was brought from my strawberry-beds and my hay-fields to-day to look at men's faces upon the sudden revolution among the Ministers. The sight was nearly as curious as upon Lord George Gordon's conflagration, and not quite so shocking. The House of Commons was nearly full, and the Treasury Bench quite empty. I found Charles Fox at my elbow, at the Opposition side of the House. A speech was expected from him, and he wished to state his motives; but no occasion presented itself. There being no question before the House, except of adjournment till Thursday next, and every man staring in silent expectation at his neighbour, the adjournment was carried without a word. What will be the new system, God only knows. Party resentments will now be higher than ever. The Duke of Richmond, Mr. Conway,^b and Mr. Townshend remain in office; but unless

^a Alexander Mangin, one of the chief clerks in the Office of the Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant.

^b The Right Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, second son of Francis, Lord Conway, and Charlotte Shorter; born 1720; M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds; appointed Chief Secretary to Ireland 1765; Secretary of State 1765; Lieut.-General of Ordnance 1767;

Lord Shelburne can gain the confidence of some considerable branch of the old Government, his ground will be very infirm. The Duke of Portland, whom C. Fox pushed for the Treasury, is to resign; so your Dutch war is over, in Ireland at least. Fitzpatrick goes over to you, to close the session merely. He is said to be decidedly and warmly with Fox in this quarrel. He is also said to have been in a hostile contest against Lord Edward Bentinck, with his principal, for Scott's office. I trust that neither of them will get it, and that it may be secured to Scott.

Ferns^a goes to Tuam, and Law^b to Ferns. There is a fatality in these matters against Dickson;^c the cherry is always at his lips, and he never catches it. I think it likely that a new Lord-Lieutenant will be appointed soon; either the Duke of Rutland or Lord Carmarthen probably. I will write more in three or four days. Direct to me at Beckenham, where I shall remain quietly for the present. You may now write to me, and express yourself without reserve.

Remember me most kindly to Fitz Gibbon, and whisper to Bushe that I understood from Gerard

Commander-in-Chief 1783; Field Marshal 1793; married, 1747, Lady Caroline Campbell, daughter of John, Duke of Argyle, Dowager Countess of Aylesbury; died 1795.

^a The Hon. and Rev. Joseph Dean Bourke, Bishop of Ferns; afterwards third Earl of Mayo.

^b The Rev. John Law, eldest brother of Edward, first Lord Ellenborough, son of Edmund, Bishop of Carlisle; consecrated Bishop of Clonfert 1782; Killala 1787; Elphin 1795; married Mrs. Tomlinson; died 1810.

^c The Rev. William Dickson was soon afterwards consecrated Bishop of Connor and Down.

Hamilton,* that the proposed arrangement in which they and Foster are concerned is not unlikely to take place. Curious times here! they will be more curious yet. Give me an account of all particulars among you.

Pray tell H. Clements that I did not lose a moment about his business, and found it decided that the purchase should go forward in good faith as it ought to do. I will write to him soon.

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Beckenham, July 10th, 1782.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I attended the House of Commons yesterday, but my horses waited at Westminster Bridge to bring me back to this place, and the debate lasted so long that I could not possibly write to you. I must refer you for particulars to the papers sent over in this night's mail.

* The Right Hon. William Gerard Hamilton, appointed Chief Secretary of Ireland 1761; Chancellor of Exchequer 1763 to 1784; M.P. for Killebegs in Irish, and Petersfield in English, Parliaments 1760; for Old Sarum 1767; for Wareham 1774; for Wilton 1780; again 1784; for Haslemere 1790; died 1796. Mr. Hamilton was long known by the appellation of Single Speech Hamilton. He did not deserve the designation as far as his efforts in the Irish Parliament were concerned, for he spoke there continually, and always with the greatest success. Lord Charlemont, as Hardy relates, is reported to have stated that his speeches were written with great care and studied with attention, and that he learned them by heart.

The first thing that will strike you is, that your friend Barré's grant, all circumstances considered, was at least a strong act.

The next remark, and it is much more material, will be that the revolution of the Ministry is beyond recall or recovery. Fox's hostility to Lord Shelburne (considering too that it was the first opening of the breach) was more violent, because more personal, than it used to be against Lord North. This large secession will undoubtedly be joined by, and coalesce with, a large part of the friends of the old Ministers.

In your kindness towards me you will be solicitous to know what part I mean to take, and I would tell you, without any reserve, if I knew; but it is as yet impossible for me to decide. The Duke of Marlborough,* with whom I have lived many years in the utmost confidence on these subjects, and with whom my Parliamentary situation is most immediately connected, stood aloof from the late Ministers, but gave encouragement at all times to the attentions of Lord Shelburne; and that whole connection, together with Lord Gower's^b and Lord Carlisle's (possibly Lord Loughbo-

* George Spencer, fourth Duke of Marlborough, son of Charles, third Duke, and Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Trevor; born 1739; succeeded his father 1758; married, 1762, Lady Caroline Russell, daughter of John, fourth Duke of Bedford; died 1817.

^b Granville Leveson Gower, second Earl Gower, son of John, first Earl, and Lady Evelyn Pierpoint, daughter of Evelyn, Duke of Kingston; born 1721; succeeded 1754; appointed Privy Seal 1755; Lord Chamberlain 1763; President of Council 1767; again President 1783; again Privy Seal 1784 to 1794; created, 1786, Marquis of Stafford; married, 1748, Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter of Scrope, Duke of Bridgewater; died 1803.

rough's), is not unlikely to form a principal support to the present new Government. Indeed, without some such accession, it would be impossible for it to hold out beyond the commencement of the next session, and even with it I suspect that it will prove a weak and disjointed business. Be all this as it may, I am in every respect at full liberty to take what line I like, and communications are opened to me. Whatever I do, I am far from seeking English office of any kind at present. I am at this moment in a very happy system of life, and within my income, however moderate. I have, however, great pleasure in the prospect of mending matters for my friends in Ireland, to which point alone my politics are at this hour directed; and if those angles can be properly rounded off, I shall afterwards feel more at ease, in either progressing or remaining quiet.

I cannot tell you the arrangements of new placemen particularly. It was settled yesterday that Mr. Pitt should be one of the Secretaries of State, but the other great offices remain open. Many new resignations were to be made to-day, the Solicitor-General, Paymaster, &c. Your Cousin ^a has made it very difficult for any man of consequence and character to touch the Vice-Royalty. Lord Carlisle and Lord Carmarthen ^b were

^a It was a mistake of Mr. Eden's to suppose that the Duke of Portland was a relation of Mr. Beresford; his brother Lord Tyrone was married to the first cousin of his Grace, and thus occasioned the misconception.

^b Francis Godolphin Osborne, Marquis of Carmarthen, son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Leeds, and Lady Mary Godolphin, daughter and heiress of Francis, Earl Godolphin; born 1751; called up to the House of Lords, 1776, as Baron Osborne; suc-

talked of yesterday. I will not risk a prophecy respecting the political conduct of any man breathing, but I do not think that Lord Carlisle will go again to that situation, though I believe that he will use every occasion to mark his recollection of friends in Ireland.

I write no other letter to Ireland, though I wished to do so; so say everything kind for me, and believe me, ever faithfully and affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. EDEN.

Abbeville, July 13th, 1782.

MY DEAR EDEN,—I cannot say that I feel as much concern at the cause of your being drawn from your sweet retreat as either Mr. Ponsonby or Sir H. Cavendish do; I was in town when the account came, but did not go up to the Castle. However, I heard from Sir Hugh Hill,* who did, and also from the Archbishop of Cashel, that there never was a more ridiculous scene; all the aides-de-camp, Dr. O'Bierne, Mr. Sheridan, and the three Ponsonbys, with their satellites, Joseph Hoare,^b

ceded as Duke 1780; Lord Chamberlain to the Queen 1778; appointed Secretary of State 1783; married, first, 1772, Lady Amelia D'Arcy, daughter of Robert, Earl of Holderness; secondly, 1778, Catherine Anguish; died 1799.

* Sir Hugh Hill, son of Rowley Hill and Sophia Lowther, of Kilbrew; Collector of the Port of Londonderry and of Coleraine; created a Baronet 1779; M.P. for City of Londonderry 1768 to 1795; married, first, Mary Hodgson; secondly, 1762, Hannah McClintock, widow of T. Spence; died 1795.

^b Hoare, Joseph, M.P. for Askeaton, created Baronet 1784.

and Lodge Morris,* were comparing notes, and Mr. Walpole haranguing them and laughing at their situation. His Grace's ante-chamber was full until six in the evening, the whole set in dismay and consternation.

I dined at Blaquière's with Burgoyne, who had been long in conference, and he told us that the Duke burst out several times into tears on mentioning the poor dear Marquis; good-natured man! but I am very glad that he is going away, I can assure you. If he had stayed he would have annihilated every man of us by some means or other. Nothing gave me so much pleasure as the strong and visible mortification which my brother Commissioner, Sir Hercules Langrishe, felt and showed. Ever since his Grace's arrival, whether by order of Ponsonby or not, Sir Hercules has assumed a degree of consequence at our Board which he is not entitled to, where he performs, when he attends, the part of a great jobber. He sounded the praises of Portland's virtues, and Fitzpatrick's abilities, and abused me and the wickedness of all former Governors, for which, as I fished out of him, he expected that his son should be made Counsel to the Barrack Board; but behold, on Sheridan's giving it up, the great O'Bierne stepped in and desired it for a Popish cousin, one Mr. O'Ferral,^b

* The Right Hon. Lodge Evans Morris, son of Redmond Morris, M.P., and Eliza Lodge; born 1741; called to bar 1769; M.P. for Bandon 1776 to 1796; for Dingle 1797; appointed Under Secretary by Lord Fitzwilliam 1795; created, 1800, Lord Frankfort de Montmorency; married, first, 1771, Mary Fade; secondly, 1804, Catherine White; died 1822.

^b Gerald O'Ferral, called to the bar 1781; appointed, 1782, Counsel to the Barrack Board, which appointment he held to 1810.

just called to the bar, and never before heard of, and got it!

Sir Hercules applied to his friend Ponsonby and Grattan, and they having borne testimony that the Baronet had betrayed every Government that had trusted him, and acted a different part in politics publicly and in private, his Grace took a liking to him, and he had high expectations. The very day that the news arrived, there were trials at the Custom House. I had heard the account, he had not; I therefore had some pleasure in telling him; but he did not seem to credit me, as I had only mentioned it as a report, and did not seem rejoiced. When G. Ponsonby came in, he did not wait a minute, but cried out, "Is the report true?" The other confirmed it; when he swore like a trooper that they were all undone, and the nation likewise; and he has not been able to attend the Board since.

There is not any one in town. All are gone down to the country to attend county meetings to carry into execution the vote of the House of Commons, and according to a plan approved of by the Duke, and a meeting of the mob at the Tholsal. Fitz Gibbon, being Sheriff of Limerick, is there on this business; when he returns we will talk it over together.

We wait with impatience for the final settlement of Administration. It is impossible that Lord Shelburne can stand without taking in the old Ministry, that is, the body of it; perhaps he may not choose to do so at once, but I have little doubt it will be done before November next. I have my thirteen children all in this house, and shall live happily with them till Monday,

when I go up to Parliament. If anything happens worth relating, you shall hear from

Yours affectionately,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO COLONEL BARRÉ.

Abbeville, July 18th, 1782

MY DEAR BARRÉ,—I wish myself joy at the present situation of things, and at Lord Shelburne being now at the head of the Treasury ; for, between you and me, I had no reason to like my situation under the late Premier and our Lord-Lieutenant. He was in very silly hands here, and in my opinion acted accordingly. I this day wrote to Lord Shelburne, by desire of his agent, a letter upon the state of smuggling on his estate in the Kenmare river, and I concluded it by expressing my satisfaction at being under his direction and protection, in which I did not say more than truth, as I find myself freed from some uneasiness, which I felt from uncertainty, and from the mortification which my pride underwent from seeing that I was suspected undeservedly. I was vexed, also, to think that at the moment when I was likely to gain some credit from my exertions in my own line, the whole progress of my operations was stopped and likely to be counteracted, but I kept myself quiet, waiting for better times, and I hope that they are come.

Let me have a few lines from you ; tell me who is to be our Chief Governor, and, as far as is proper, tell me

what is to be our system. Believe me, no one will promote Lord Shelburne's business here more assiduously or more faithfully than I will; and permit me to say, that he will not find many who can be of more use to him in this country. I do not know whether you have any true information of the state of men's minds in this kingdom; lest you should not, I will inform you that those in power here, and who supported former Chief Governors, were ill-disposed towards the Duke of Portland, and he would have found great difficulties in the next session of Parliament, if business had been continued in the same line it was in for some time past. As to the mind of the public, do not consider that they are fully satisfied with what you have done. If our session had lasted for six weeks more, it is my opinion that Mr. Flood's doctrine would have prevailed in spite of everything which Lord Charlemont, Grattan, &c., could have done. The volunteers are led by little men, whose importance must cease the moment the people come to their senses. It is, therefore, necessary to keep up a spirit among them, which they will attempt to do, as long as they can, by every means. While this is the case, you will find it difficult to satisfy this country.

Yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. EDEN.

Dublin, July 18th, 1782.

MY DEAR EDEN,—We opened our political campaign again last Monday; nothing very material has happened

since in Parliament: Flood has every day challenged the Treasury Bench, picked at the Attorney-General, and vapoured over Grattan, but has not been able to provoke them to battle. Fitzpatrick has been silent except in one instance, when he contradicted the received opinion, that Lord Abingdon had presented a Bill which was received and ordered to lie on the table. The several Bills returned we are getting through very fast. Yelverton's Bill was violently opposed by Sir William Osborne, in a speech of an hour and a half, and was most ably supported by Fitz Gibbon against him and Flood; Yelverton silent, afraid of Flood. The Bill to deprive revenue officers of votes has passed our House; I have hopes it may be thrown out in the Lords, many there are against it.

We expect the session to end about this day se'night, and a very pretty conclusion it will have—every possible mischief done to order and good government, and the people ten times as discontented as ever. Flood's doctrine is, I think, pretty universally adopted, and I have strong reason to believe that the several provincial mobs mean to censure their delegates assembled at Dublin for acquiescing in a simple repeal of the 6th Geo. I. An universal flame seems to me to be kindling, which will soon break out; the lawyers' corps are to meet, I understand, to censure Grattan; nay, it is talked of confidently that Lord Charlemont will be ungeneraled, and I hear Lord Kingsborough is so already in Munster. Mr. Flood has published his two speeches on the repeal of the 6th Geo. I. in a pamphlet, and to do the more mischief has added Lord Abingdon's speech and Bill at the end.

This pamphlet is sent to all parts of the kingdom, and will have its operation. Such is the present state of the people's minds, which from what I have related you may see is not likely to mend.

On Tuesday an account reached us that Lord Temple was appointed Lord-Lieutenant. This has given very great offence at the Castle, and great pains have been taken to contradict the report, upon this foundation, that Lord Shelburne had written to his Grace to request him to stay here, and that his Grace's answer could not have reached London so as to authorize the appointment of a new Lord-Lieutenant on the day that the letters bringing the account were dated. Such a letter Lord Shelburne did write, but it was before your debate of Tuesday, which I think was a pretty sufficient receipt in full for all obligations, and a tolerable good hint to Lord Shelburne that the Duke of Portland was not just the best of all possible Lord-Lieutenants for him to choose. I really do not understand the reason of attempting to make men imagine that the Duke either was to stay, or might stay, but such is the fact, that it is attempted. Rage and disappointment show themselves daily; the Ponsonbys are totally cast down, to the universal joy of all men; the Provost, and his son, Mr. Ogilvie, the Duke of Leinster, Mr. Conolly, and Sir Henry Cavendish, are also much disappointed. The Duke and Conolly are in a scrape, and I believe there will be another revolution in their politics. On the formation of the late Ministry, the Duke went over, and with full powers from Mr. Conolly; they, thinking to take the strongest ground, entered into engagements with Fox, and now that the

Duke of Richmond has separated from that party, our Duke and his wise and virtuous relation are exceedingly puzzled what line to follow ; however, by what I can find, they incline to Fox, thinking that the best of the day, so that we shall see them here in Opposition ; would to God that we had a Government in this country, and that they would see their own interest, and adhere strictly to the plan laid down by Lord Townshend, which, if it had been followed, would have left everything in the hands of Government at this day which they could wish for.

I forgot to tell you, in its proper place, that Fitz Gibbon has overturned a fine scheme of the Chancellor's and the Duke. It seems that in the law arrangements the Chancellor had, or said he had, a promise for his son ; he was disappointed ; a part of this arrangement was the dismissal of Serjeant Fitzgerald ; Burton Conynghame interfered ; the Duke was very sorry, did not know there was any connection, and promised to keep him in ; however, Metge would not relinquish ; what was then to be done ? the Chancellor very ingeniously proposed the creation of an Attorney and Solicitor General for the Queen ; this was adopted, sent over, and returned with Fitzpatrick—Hewitt was to be Attorney, and Fitzgerald Solicitor. They let it out too soon, and Fitz Gibbon, in arguing to show that the Bill to deprive revenue officers of their votes was not really intended to diminish the influence of the Crown, but to serve the interested job of some individual ; stated that instead of diminishing that influence they were increasing it, and instanced these new creations intended. Yelverton confessed them, but endeavoured to show that they could not influence ; Flood, &c., fell upon them,

and they gave them up: however, Flood is to make a motion against them to ensure the matter, and Fitzpatrick is to give them up.

As for politics, if they are mysterious to you, they must be unintelligible to me; how the new Minister can stand without a real and confidential union with the old Ministry, I cannot see, and although no trace of such union appears in the new arrangements, yet I should suppose, from the species of men who are put into great offices, that there is some prospect of further changes in contemplation before the meeting of Parliament; I have little doubt but that you will be thought of; but in such a situation of affairs no man can see his way. In all times, and in all situations, you have my best wishes; and I request to hear from you when any good prospect opens to you.

I left the House last night sitting, Annesley* has just called on me, and tells me Flood gave notice that on Monday he would move a Declaration of Rights; that he and Grattan sparred at one another for an hour bitterly; that the cause of his postponing his motion until Monday is, that the lawyers' corps meet on Saturday to expel Grattan, or to enter into resolutions against his doctrines; so you see what is likely to happen.

Yours sincerely,

J. B.

* The Hon. Richard Annesley, third son of William, first Viscount Glerawley, and Lady Anne Beresford, eldest daughter of Marcus, Earl of Tyrone; born 1745; called to the bar 1770; M.P. for Coleraine 1776; for St. Canice 1783; for Newtown 1790; for Blessington 1797; appointed Commissioner of Revenue 1785; succeeded his brother Francis as second Earl of Annesley 1802; married, 1771, Anne, daughter of Robert Lambert of Dunleddy, county Down; died 1824.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Beckenham, Aug. 1st, 1782.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Many thanks for your recollections, which give me real pleasure. I am too much out of the world to pay you in the same coin of interesting intelligence; for though we have had, during the last fortnight, daily relays of fresh company, our conversation has turned on matters not worth relating on paper, and all the facts worth knowing have been anticipated in the newspapers.

I observe that the inferences which you draw from these facts are always the best that can be drawn, and in particular I fully agree with you, that Lord Shelburne cannot go on without a full coalition with the principal friends of Lord North's Government. Whether such a coalition is to be expected I cannot say, though I ought to form as good a guess as other people, considering that Lord North passed two days here last week, and that yesterday I had a very long conference with Lord Shelburne in Berkeley Square. I think I can conjecture, as to myself, that I shall remain as I am, for the present at least, and possibly for a long period; but without hostility to the Government, by which I am now personally well treated, unless new cause shall arise. I tried to be of use to many of our Irish friends, but I am not sanguine as to my success. It is sometimes in the power of a blockhead to disable and defeat right systems, and without meaning to apply so scurrilous a term, your present Viceroy has laid great difficulties on the well-intentioned part of the executive power, and has per-

mitted many cruel injuries, which will not easily be repaired. I found Lord Shelburne most highly prepossessed in his ideas of you by your friend Barré, and I was glad to confirm him in opinions so just and so well founded. More of other matters in my next.

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Abbeville, 2nd Sept., 1782.

MY LORD,—I have had it in contemplation for some time past to trouble your Lordship with a few lines, to acquaint you of the success of a plan which your Lordship suggested for the benefit of the revenue of this country, and carried into execution; and I wished to do this in order to furnish your Lordship with proof that the expense which the public incurred by your plan was amply repaid to them by the consequences of it, and also to show to you that the person to whom you entrusted the execution has not disgraced your recommendation of him.

Your Lordship was pleased to commit the management of the Revenue to my care in the month of April, 1779: I have therefore stated, in a paper herewith inclosed, the produce of such branches of the Revenue as depend upon the consumption of the country, for the year ending Lady-day, 1779—that is, the year which ended just before I undertook the management; and I have stated the produce of the same branches in every

year since, in order to show what has been the progress of improvement.

I had drawn out a statement of all the Revenues as well import as inland, but I afterwards struck out the former, on considering that it is the inland duties alone which can show whether the Revenue be well or ill collected ; for as in them the consumption always is very nearly the same, if the Revenue be increased it must arise from this, that more of the commodity consumed has paid duty ; whereas, imports depend upon circumstances totally distinct, and could not at this day be brought to prove anything, because there have been great additional duties laid on the principal commodities imported in the periods which are to be compared. If, upon inspection of this paper, your Lordship shall think that I have not disappointed your expectations, it will give me great satisfaction ; and I beg leave to assure your Lordship, that it will always give me pleasure to obey your commands in anything within my power, and to show on all occasions that I am, with great respect and regard,

My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient
and very humble servant,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD BUCKINGHAMSHIRE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Blickling, Sept. 17th, 1782.

SIR,—It has seldom happened to me to feel myself more flattered than with your late very obliging com-

munication. In the new arrangement of the Revenue Board, I had certainly encouraged an expectation that the resources of the public would be augmented by your acknowledged abilities and meritorious exertions ; yet that expectation did not in any degree advance to the extent which, at so early a period, it has produced ; you have demonstrated in this particular instance what has long been my opinion, that though in the direction of every branch of national business, as well as in the superintending and deciding upon the great aggregate of the whole, the assistance of several may be necessary, yet confusion and weakness will frequently ensue if there be not one supreme.

The Administration of Great Britain for nearly the last twenty years too clearly evinces a melancholy foundation for this assertion. The obliging assurances with which your letter closes, encourage me to hope hereafter for further communications.

Believe me, with great truth and regard, your most faithful and most obedient servant,

BUCKINGHAM.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Downing Street, Westminster, Sept. 18th, 1782.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Mrs. Eden and I drove to town this morning, that I might attend the levee to-day, and she the drawing-room to-morrow.

Some kind and friendly arrangements which Lord

Grantham^a recently laid before the King respecting our two brothers,^b the Foreign Ministers, occasioned this excursion from our farm.

I found His Majesty in a very small circle of strange faces, and, except Lord North and myself, there was not a man in the room whom he has been accustomed to see. His new Ministers, too, looked as if they felt themselves out of their element, and upon the whole I thought it a queer and unpleasant meeting. I suspect

^a Thomas Robinson, second Lord Grantham, son of Thomas, first Lord, and Frances Worsley; born 1738; succeeded 1770; M.P. for Christ Church from 1761 to 1770; appointed a Lord of the Board of Trade 1766; Ambassador to the Court of Spain 1771; First Lord of Board of Trade 1780; Secretary of State 1782; married, 1780, Lady Mary Jemima Yorke, daughter of Philip, second Earl of Hardwicke, and Jemima, Marchioness Grey; died 1786.

^b Our two brothers, Morton Eden, and Sir Gilbert Elliott:— Frederick Morton Eden, youngest son of Sir Robert Eden, and Mary Davison; born 1752; appointed, 1776, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Elector of Bavaria; 1779, Envoy Extraordinary to Denmark; 1783, ditto to Saxony; Envoy to Berlin 1791; Ambassador to the Court of Madrid 1794; Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Vienna 1795; sworn of Privy Council 1794; K.B. 1791; created Baron Henley 1799; married, 1783, Lady Elizabeth Henley, daughter of Robert, first Earl of Northington; died 1830.

The Right Hon. Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart., son of Sir Gilbert Elliott, third Bart., and Agnes Murray Kynynmond; born 1751; M.P. for Roxburghshire 1774 and 1780; for Berwick 1786; for Helstone 1790; created, 1797, Baron Minto; 1813, Earl of Minto; appointed Viceroy of Corsica 1795; Ambassador at Vienna 1799; President of Board of Control 1806; Governor-General of India 1806 to 1813; married, 1777, Anne Maria, daughter of Sir George Amyand, Bart; died 1814.

that a great personage in the party was of the same opinion respecting it. They talked cheerfully about Gibraltar; the arrival, too, of the Leeward Fleet was a topic of satisfaction.

I understood that our session was not to commence till the 26th November, but further I did not hear any news. Every observation that I can make confirms my belief that the present frame of Government cannot last, but I cannot prophecy further.

As to my own political line, it was snapped in a way that rather mortified my private feelings, but otherwise I am not sorry for the predicament in which I find myself. It would have been agreeable to me to have remained in Ireland, to have honestly pursued the interests of that country, which I am sure that I could have made much richer and much happier than his Grace of Portland will leave it. I also wished to have retained the means of promoting the fair and honourable views of my Irish friends, and I ultimately meant to have taken care of myself. I submitted cheerfully to the hurricane which destroyed those objects. I have since, perhaps, had sufficient openings to promote my individual interest, but though I should be glad if my income was easier, I can retain my rank in life without it; and seeing what I conceive to be the honourable and consistent line of conduct, I am well pleased, under every risk and disadvantage, to pursue it. In the meantime I enjoy a large circle of friends, with more health and better spirits than I ever had before.

So much for this digressive beginning of a letter.

Before I left Beckenham this morning, I received yours of the 10th instant. The domestic calamity which occasioned your late silence has in truth prevented my writing for some days. I know so well what you must suffer under it, that I feel it idle and offensive to write about it. A man with a wife like Mrs. Beresford tastes a very bitter cup under the circumstances and loss which you describe. Let us hear soon and fully respecting her health.

His Grace of Portland's immaculate professions seem to be taking a most mischievous turn against the interests of the Irish revenue. It is beyond the extent of his talents to understand that a system of jobbing in revenue offices is infinitely more dangerous in its consequences than a lavish profusion of new grants and pensions can ever possibly be. I have no reason to wish well towards him, but if the national interests were out of the question, I could not even then be so malevolent as to wish that he had remained another year in Ireland. He would have been overwhelmed in distresses and disgrace.

I am curious to see the result of the plan of fencibles. Do you know who suggested it?

My confidence about your new era is not very great. The principal personage both overvalues his own talents and undervalues the task to which they are opposed. He is, however, superior to his immediate predecessor. I had an opportunity of stating to him in writing the implicit confidence which he, both for his own sake and for the sake of the public, ought to repose in you in all revenue businesses, and indeed in any other.

Mrs. Eden desires her love to Mrs. Beresford. Let us soon hear about her.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, very affectionately yours,

WILLIAM EDEN.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Blenheim, Oct. 27th, 1782.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Having left my papers at Beckenham, you will consider this scrawl rather as a signal to keep me alive in your recollection than as any answer to your last letter, to which I can advert only from recollection.

I find that the manœuvres of the spiritous manufacturers have forced you to draw your grey goose quill, which is a very powerful one whenever you think proper to bring it into action. Your work is forwarded to me at this place, and as soon as I can command one hour here, I shall proceed to study it, not from any lively interest that I take at present in Irish distilleries or Irish revenue, but from a pleasure that I shall ever feel in any occasion that seems to bring me into conversation with you.

We have ample materials to consolidate and establish a Government; I hope that we shall avail ourselves of them in some shape or other; but there are so many collateral considerations, that I cannot yet see my way clearly: you shall know more when I know more.

Your Lord-Lieutenant^a will not see his own difficulties till he has felt them ; he is preparing to show his fitness to govern the whole empire by a wise and able vice-royalty. I fear that his success will not be unmingled with some mortifications and disappointments to himself more than to others.

I have had near four weeks' lameness from my accident, but am gradually recovering.

I am sorry to hear such melancholy accounts of your friend Barré ; I much doubt whether he will be able to enter into the winter battles, though his friend will much want his assistance.

I do not despair of seeing the short-lived Government, in which I was happy enough to have your assistance, rise much in the memory and regards of your countrymen ; for I do not hitherto see that it can suffer by comparison with our successors ; if it grows popular, and if our great plans should ever go into execution for the improvement of Dublin, I beg that you will contrive to edge my name^b into some street, or into some

^a The new Lord-Lieutenant, George Grenville Nugent Temple, third Earl Temple, son of the Right Hon. George Grenville and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Wyndham, Bart. ; born 1753 ; M.P. for county of Buckingham 1774 ; succeeded his uncle as Earl 1779 ; appointed, 1784, Teller of the Exchequer for life ; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1782 ; Secretary of State for a short time 1783 ; created Marquis of Buckingham 1784 ; second time Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1787, on the death of the Duke of Rutland ; married, 1775, Lady Mary Nugent, only child of Robert, Earl Nugent ; died 1813.

^b Eden Quay was named so in consequence of this request.

square, opening to a bridge, the bank, or the four courts. I am sorry, however, that the bank hangs fire.

Yours faithfully and affectionately,

WILLIAM EDEN.

Remember me most kindly to Fitz Gibbon and Bushe.

MR. E. COOKE * TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin Castle, 28th Dec., 1782.

MY DEAR SIR,—Lees has got his final acquittal from the Duke of Portland, in the fullest and most unequivocal terms. He is, therefore, now thinking of showing his face once more amongst us. I will not let my idleness get the better of me, so I enclose a copy of his Grace's letter. Lees is using Squire Western's phrases of "forget and forgiye;" I suppose, therefore, that he

* Edward Cooke, son of the Rev. Dr. William Cooke, who was elected Provost of King's College, Cambridge, in 1772, on the death of Dr. Sumner. Young Cooke came over to Ireland in 1780, it is believed; he was placed by Mr. Eden in the office of Chief Secretary, where he soon distinguished himself by his abilities and business-like habits. He was in 1786 appointed second Clerk to the House of Commons; 1789, succeeded C. F. Sheridan as Under-Secretary, War Department; 1795, removed by Lord Fitzwilliam, but reinstated by his successor, Lord Camden, on his arrival; 1796, succeeded Mr. Sackville Hamilton as Under-Secretary, Civil Department; acted under Lord Castlereagh during the Irish Rebellion; 1804, appointed Under-Secretary of War and Colonies of England, when Lord Camden became Secretary of State; 1806, removed during the Administration of the Talents; 1807, reinstated under Lord Castlereagh; 1812, removed to the Foreign Office with Lord Castlereagh; 1817, retired, and was succeeded by Mr. Planta; married, 1795, Isabella Gorges; died 1819.

does not wish his triumph to be insolently celebrated. I see your friend Lælius still keeps up the laugh against your giant antagonist. I hope that you approve of what has been said in the English Parliament. There is no reason to doubt but the business will be properly concluded.

What part ought Eden to take, or ought he to take any? I wish that you would write to him your sentiments.

I am, dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

E. COOKE.

Fox has been making approaches to Lord North, but in vain hitherto. Lees flatters me by saying that Eden will soon be in high office.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Hanover Square, 24th Feb., 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,—Since I wrote to you on Saturday, the dilapidations of the Cabinet follow rapidly. Lord Camden has succeeded the Duke of Grafton, and the Duke of Rutland, who had just entered, I hear to-day, has followed. Now I hear that the Chancellor, who was in a confounded ill-humour at the House to-day, will follow these. It is reported that the King had sent for Lord North, but I doubt it.

Mr. Jenkinson,* the Lord Advocate, Mr. Rigby, and

* The Right Hon. Charles Jenkinson, eldest son of Colonel Jenkinson and Aramantha Cornewall; born 1727; Private Secretary

your friend Mr. Robinson, I hear, have acted a shabby part. If the former had acted with Lord North, it would have been considered by the Administration as a great disadvantage. The new Ministry has been, I believe, formed without them. No business has been done in either House. Lord Shelburne had two Cabinet Councils yesterday, and he is expected to resign, as well as Mr. Pitt and Mr. Townshend. I am happy to hear that Lord Temple is likely to continue; his application, his generosity, and popularity, render it highly necessary for the public service that he should be separated from these casualties.

Yours affectionately,

TOWNSHEND.

MR. ALLAN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Berners' Street, 14th March, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,—I dined yesterday at Lord Townshend's, where was Mr. Strachey,* Under-Secretary to

to Lord Bute; appointed Under-Secretary of State 1761; Secretary to the Treasury 1763; Lord of the Treasury 1766 to 1773; Secretary at War 1778 to 1782; President Board of Trade 1784; Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster 1786 to 1803; M.P. for Cockermouth 1761; afterwards for Appleby, Hastings, and Saltash; created, 1786, Baron Hawkesbury; 1796, Earl of Liverpool; married, first, 1769, Amelia Watts; secondly, 1782, Catherine Bishop, widow of Sir Charles Cope, Bart.; died 1808.

* Henry Strachey, son of Henry Strachey and Helen Clerk; born 1737; Secretary to Lord Clive in India 1764; appointed Storekeeper to Ordnance 1780; Secretary to Treasury 1782; Under-Secretary of State 1782; M.P. for Bishop's Castle 1780.

Lord Sydney.* His news was, that Lord North had been with the King, and that a Ministry was settled; the Duke of Portland at the Treasury, but no other appointment certainly fixed; at least, publicly known. Last night they were to meet and arrange. This day Strachey expected to be a gentleman at large. If I hear anything in my walk, I will add it. Strange it is to tell you, but true, that I have not seen our worthy friend Robinson since I came from Bath. He has only a lodging in town, and seldom sleeps there. I have called a dozen times and not seen him. My jaunt to Bath has caused me very constant attendance since I came back. I do not know that he has broken with Lord North, but I have heard that he did not approve of the Coalition, in which opinion many of Lord North's friends agree.

I am inclined to think that Lord Temple will remain if *he* chooses.

I have been expecting you some time. When you come bring me the statutes due to me as a Member; I wrote to Lees about them. I fear that this Coalition will retard his going back to his former situation. I have some reason to think that Lord North has stipulated for Lord Townshend going back to the Ordnance. I have not been in the way of hearing more particulars.

I am yours sincerely,

THOS. ALLAN.

1784, 1790, 1796; for East Grinstead 1802; created Baronet 1801; married, 1770, Jane Kelsall; died 1810.

* The Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, eldest son of the Hon. Thomas Townshend and Albinia Selwyn; born 1733; M.P. for Whitchurch 1760 to 1783; appointed Paymaster of Forces 1767; Secretary at War 1782; Secretary of State 1782; created, 1783,

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Hanover Square, April 9th, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,—I should be wanting, though I have not a moment to write, if I neglected to inform you that the Duke of Richmond having at length, though much solicited to the contrary, resigned the Ordnance, in an angry letter to the Duke of Portland, I have received a letter from Lord North to kiss hands on Monday, and I have no doubt but our friend Courtney* will be well provided for.

I hear on all sides that Lord Temple will return. God knows who will undertake, perhaps Lord Fitzwilliam, but I doubt it. Who, under such a fluctuating, inconstant Government, would, I cannot conceive; pomp and titles, however, captivate many who know not the true ground.

I had several of our sincere friends to dine with me to-day; our friend Scott among the rest. Ann joins with me in best wishes to you and the Barb; be assured that our hearts are with you, and we should be also, if such a degenerate country as this could be relied on for justice; for this cause alone we are not.

Yours ever, most affectionately,

TOWNSHEND.

Baron Sydney; 1789, Viscount; married, 1760, Elizabeth Powis; died 1800.

* John Courtney, son of William Courtney and Lady Jane Stuart, daughter of James, second Earl of Bute; appointed Secretary to Master-General of Ordnance 1772 to 1782; Surveyor-General of Ordnance 1783; M.P. for Tamworth 1780, 1784 and 1790.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

April 22nd, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am truly sensible of your kind congratulations on my return to the Ordnance, however precarious the station is likely to be. Our follies, factions, and unprincipled conduct, are little likely to allow any stability anywhere. I hear that I have had the honour of being much talked of for Ireland. Perhaps I was in the wishes of many friends there. You will agree with me, my worthy friend, that there are two things most interesting to me, the good of my little family, and the esteem of those friends which I hope never to forfeit. Compare this with every wish to be among you, and recollect how I have been treated here. Would you have advised me to place confidence where neither America, Ireland, nor any part of Europe does—in a country which is incapable either of public system or public gratitude?

Lord Northington,* I hear, is at last your Viceroy; he is very gouty. I am not much acquainted with him; but he seems a polite and sensible man. Either Windham^b or Sir Ralph Payne,^c I hear, is to be his Secretary.

* Robert Henley, second Earl of Northington, son of Lord Chancellor Henley, created Earl of Northington, and Jane Huband; succeeded his father 1772; appointed Teller of the Exchequer 1763; M.P. for Hampshire 1767; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1783; died 1786.

^b The Right Hon. William Windham, son of William Windham and Sarah Lukin; M.P. for Norwich 1784, 1790, 1796; for St. Mawes 1802; for Higham Ferrers 1807; appointed Secretary at War 1794; Secretary of State 1806; died 1810.

^c Sir Ralph Payne, son of Ralph Payne and Alice Carlisle;

All your friends here are well, and Ann, with me, wishes to be with you next summer, if possible. Ireland was never offered to me. I have heard Lord Hillsborough wished for it; but this I am not certain of. You will be happy to hear our friend Courtney is Surveyor-General.

Yours ever affectionately,

TOWNSHEND.

LORD TEMPLE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Stowe, July 19th, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,—I should have taken the earliest opportunity of acknowledging your kind letter immediately upon my arrival at this place, but that the accounts which I heard of Mrs. Beresford were so alarming, that I could not venture to break in upon you at a moment which I apprehended might be most distressing to you. I have, however, just heard that she is in a fair way of recovery, and I most cordially congratulate you.

I accept with singular satisfaction the kind testimony of your esteem and regard. My attention to your public situation was due to you as the only return which Government can make for that active zeal and integrity to which you have sacrificed every hour and every

M.P. for Shaftesbury 1767; K.B. 1771; M.P. for Plympton 1780; for Fowey 1790; for Woodstock 1796; appointed, 1771, Governor of the Leeward Islands; again 1799; created, 1795, Baron Lavington (Irish Peerage); married Mademoiselle de Trowbelle, a beautiful Polish lady, who survived him; died 1807.

thought. I wished, however, to convince you of my private friendship and affection, and eagerly embraced the trifling opportunity of showing it by an attention to your wishes, which you have much overrated. This private friendship I will still claim, notwithstanding the distance which separates us; and I shall always think with satisfaction on those hours which we passed together, from which I reaped so much instruction and advantage. I am infinitely obliged to you for your sketch of Irish politics. It is probable that this letter will share the fate which many others have experienced, and as I do not mean to write for the information of the post-office, I will only say that I still take that eager interest in the Government of Ireland which will make me cordially rejoice in the success of a wise and temperate Government; but I have not the smallest objection to the publication of my opinion, that as far as your Administration depends upon English Ministers, it will not be wise, temperate, or consistent, and that every scene to which I have been a witness since my arrival in England has confirmed me in my opinions, under which I resigned the Government, which I could not hold with advantage to the Empire and honour to myself. The next six months must teem with events in both kingdoms. Our Parliament has risen, leaving the great commercial questions still afloat; yours will probably meet in the same spirit of uncertainty; and in the mean time, the crisis upon many of the points which we have so often discussed has passed away from the admirable solution which our Janus-faced Ministry have found for points upon which they disagree, viz. that of leaving

them to Providence, or to accident. I write to you freely in return for your confidence; and what I write is as little interesting as any future situation can be which the public prints have pointed out for me. With you the case is different; and I entreat you most eagerly to watch well that fabric of Irish Government which must depend for its support upon integrity and abilities like yours, and to which I strongly hope and wish success, notwithstanding the little partiality I entertain for those who have divided that spoil which they have purchased at the expense of public safety and of private honour. Our warmest and kindest compliments attend your whole family; and I will entreat you to remember me uttering expressions of regard to Clements, Gardiner, and your brother. Be assured that I shall ever most truly prize those sentiments with which I am

Most faithfully and sincerely yours,

NUGENT TEMPLE.

LORD TEMPLE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Stowe, October 23rd, 1788.

How difficult it is, my dear Sir, to speak, in language expressive of my feelings, my sense of your kind testimony to my endeavours for the public service! Believe me that I prize most highly this proof of your friendship; and if anything would add to the satisfaction which I feel in perusing the Resolution* of the 15th

* The Resolution of the Irish House of Commons, conveying their approbation of Lord Temple's conduct of the public affairs during his vice-royalty.

instant, it would be the reflection of the pleasure which you and others, too partial to me, must feel at this public approbation given to measures which many, and you particularly, have devised or shared with me. I am vain enough to think that a negative arising from resentment or in disappointment does not in fact break in upon the unanimity of the vote. Be that, however, as it may be, they are probably not more contented with that day than I am. The shameful liberties taken with my letters, both sent and received (for even the Speaker's letter to me had been opened), make me cautious on politics ; but you, who know me, will believe that I am most deeply anxious for the events of this Irish session, and with every disposition to loathe and execrate our English Ministry, even with the certainty that their measures, their abilities, and their intentions are little proportioned to the exigencies of the State, I am still too warmly anxious for the peace and unity of the Empire not to wish to Government in Ireland every success in the arduous task of this winter. Much of opportunity is irrecoverably lost ; much might have been prevented, *as you know well*. All this I much lament ; I may complain of personal treatment from the Irish Ministry ; but nothing shall make me hang upon them in a moment like the present. All depends upon their firmness ; and I will hope that you prophesied truly as to the contest of the present hour.

I have felt most truly for your domestic distress. I would have written to you, but I could not bring myself to a subject so near to you, and I knew that no letter was necessary to convince you of the part I took

in it. I trust that your mind is now at ease, and in that wish every honest man in Ireland must for the public service feel equally interested. I will trouble you with my kindest compliments to your brother ; and with every assurance of unalterable regard,

I remain, my dear Sir,

Your very faithful and affectionate servant,

NUGENT TEMPLE.

MR. ROBINSON TO MR. SCOTT.

Michaelstow Hall, Manningtree,
Nov. 2nd, 1783.

MY DEAR SCOTT,—I have this morning only received your letter of the 16th, and have but a moment to save this post.

When you wrote to me, you had not seen Beresford, or he received my letter to him. He would have told you what steps I took immediately on hearing of Burgh's death. I do not expect that my opinions will have much weight, especially when they may combat either Lord North's ease or his wishes to accommodate those he now acts with, although not tending to his credit and consideration. However, they are given with sincerity, and, as you very justly attribute to me, unshaken attachment, notwithstanding I could not bring myself to follow him throughout, and take an active part in scenes which perhaps my foolish and too weak mind could not altogether approve ; I wished much rather to withdraw into that retirement you describe, and I assure you it is a

pleasant one to me, thought it may be thought romantic, and I trust to future events to clear my character from folly and want of judgment. I think if Beresford, you, and I were together, so as to talk over everything confidentially, I could convince you both that there is a time for a pause, as there is for a fair, reasonable, but not a pledged, tied support to party or Government; no such attachment should carry one to the sacrifice of any essential parts of the Constitution or of the powers necessary for, or indeed by which alone Government can be carried on. Opposition in trivial matters, and on all points, would not be dignified, but a distinction between the partizan and attached devotee of the present Ministers, and the faithful adherent of our Sovereign and the Constitution, seems to me highly honourable.

You may guess the pleasure with which I read your letter, and found the part which you had determined to take; and if the sentiments which I have above confidentially expressed meet with your and our friends' approbation, it will be a great satisfaction to me.

I think your letter to me such as I ought not to trust by post in a communication by writing to Lord North, as it might fall into other hands and be perused; therefore, I shall not send it, but be assured that he shall read it, and hear my animadversions on the situation he appears in in Ireland. It will not be new to him from me, for I still very sincerely regard him, and therefore speak my mind with freedom. But alas, what a falling off! I will not enlarge.

I shall stay here till the 9th, and then go up to attend Parliament, when I will show your letter to Lord North,

after which you shall hear from me. Present my most affectionate wishes to Beresford, and allow me to add the same to Mrs. Scott and yourself. Assure Lees that I have a sincere regard for him. I send this letter under cover to him, as it may be less attended to. Let my friends direct to me under cover to Todd.

Adieu, my dear Scott.

Ever most truly yours,

J. ROBINSON.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. FOSTER.

London, 9th Jan., 1784.

MY DEAR FOSTER,—I sit down to write you a few lines, confiding in you that it should never go further, and wishing that you would make such use of the information as may best suit you. I shall not preface, but directly tell you that everything is at this moment in such train relative to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer that I think, if Lord Northington will write an official letter recommending it to be done, all difficulty being likely to be settled on this side, it will be settled. Mr. Pelham has written for a letter without knowing this; you can call on His Excellency, and can forward the letter, and if it comes, I think the thing will be done. Pelham's letter goes by a messenger, this by post.

Yours sincerely,

J. B.

MR. BURTON CONYNGHAM TO MR. BERESFORD.

Valencia, Jan. 13th, 1784.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—My last letters brought me the melancholy account of the death of Mrs. Gardiner,* and of Lady Parnell.^b It appears to me as if a peculiar mortality had prevailed in Ireland during the last year—at least I feel it, from its having been so fatal to my friends.

This letter may possibly find you in England, where I think the appearance of politics is almost as gloomy as in Ireland. I do not like the violent resolutions of the Commons against the Lords, and I am apt to think, that when a breach is made, the disappointed party will think it necessary to join in every wild idea of the people in order to get their support. Let me hear of the state of party, and what is likely to come on at the opening of the new Parliament, for I think there will be a dissolution.

As to Irish politics, I cannot say that I agree with you as to the propriety of discarding at once the request of the Volunteers. Think of the consequences of that kind of treatment of the American petitions! The people must sometimes be humoured as a child, if not too headstrong. I think any Bill of Reform impracticable from the variety of opinions; that the variety

* Mrs. Gardiner. Elizabeth Montgomery, eldest daughter of Sir William Montgomery, Bart.; married, 1773, the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, afterwards Lord Mountjoy; died 1783.

^b Mrs. Parnell. Letitia Brooke, daughter of Sir Arthur Brooke, Bart.; married, 1774, Mr. Parnell, afterwards Sir John; died 1783.

would be a handle for framing such clauses in the progress, that it may be rejected after deliberation without clamour.

I can hardly think the Volunteers will submit quietly. I am anxious to know what has been done in the Portugal business. I hope that you have raised the duties on their wines; it is worth trying. I am of opinion that something might be done by negotiation with Spain, at least a foundation laid for an extensive commerce with this country, when French politics shall no longer influence the Cabinet, which it is thought will be the case when there is a new reign.

Almost the whole of the linen consumed in Spain is imported; there is no such thing as an established manufacture. Some is made in Galicia, Catalonia and Leon, and a manufacture is lately set up at St. Ildefonso, where there are the immense number of twenty-two looms; but the price of the linen is extravagant: and when at Madrid, I was informed by a merchant, that our linen was in great repute, and sold to great advantage. The supply at present is from France and Hamburg. I have written on the subject to an Irish merchant at Alicant, whom I expect at my house this day. He comes on purpose to give me information of the state of trade, and to plan something to encourage the import of our linen. I wish that you would talk to Lord Hillsborough on the subject. I have engaged some of the merchants here to make trial of their wines and brandies in Ireland, and they have promised me to mix the strong wines of Benecardo, Alicant, and Morviedro with the lighter ones of La Mancha, which are excellent and

which would be equal to common claret, which is mixed with wine sent from hence to Cotte.

I am affectionately yours,

WILL. CONYNGHAM.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Chester, 20th Feb., 1784.

MY DEAR ROBINSON,—We arrived here safe to-day about four o'clock. The Duke of Rutland* came about six o'clock this morning; and set forward at two. Mr. Orde left this at four. It is snowing as if heaven and earth would come together, and I much doubt their getting through in such weather, especially as I find that they want above twenty horses, which will exhaust the whole stock on this road. We stop here, and will not follow till to-morrow. There is neither yacht nor packet boat at Holyhead, as we learned from the coach just arrived, so I know not when we shall get over.

The Duke has had a very ugly accident in riding from Belvoir yesterday. His horse fell, and upon his leg. He is very much hurt, and was carried in and out of the chaise; and the surgeon here, a skilful man, says that if he does not take care of his leg, it might, from the state

* Charles Manners, fourth Duke of Rutland, son of John, Marquis of Granby, and Lady Frances Seymour, daughter of Charles, Duke of Somerset; born 1754; M.P. for Cambridge University 1774; succeeded his grandfather 1780; appointed, 1783, Lord Steward; 1788, Privy Seal; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1784; married, 1775, Lady Mary Isabella Somerset, daughter of Charles, fourth Duke of Beaufort; died 1787.

it is in, mortify. He endeavoured to prevail on him to stay here a day, but in vain. He is gone on, and not even carried the surgeon with him.

Yours most sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Holyhead, 22nd Feb., 1784.

MY DEAR ROBINSON,—We followed his Grace as close as possible, and are now with him at Holyhead. The yacht which left Dublin at the same time as the packet, which arrived this morning, has been blown out of her course, God knows where. The Duke, therefore, goes on board the packet. He is very lame, but much better than he was. The wind is very high; I hope that we shall have a good voyage. I have heard the result of the debate of Wednesday with you.

The Irish House met on Wednesday; Mr. William Ponsonby^a moved an Address of thanks to Lord Northington, which passed quietly. This is acting according to precedent; but perhaps, it is hoisting a flag of defiance. However, I doubt it, for though he may

^a The Right Hon. William Brabazon Ponsonby, eldest son of the Right Hon. John Ponsonby and Lady Elizabeth Cavendish; born 1774; M.P. for City of Cork 1768; for Bandon Bridge 1776; for Kilkenny County 1783 to 1806; married, 1769, Hon. Louisa Molesworth, daughter of Richard, third Viscount; created, 1806, Baron Ponsonby; died 1806.

wish to pay a compliment to one set of men, yet he may not choose to go further.

Yours ever sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. ORDE * TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin Castle, 28th March, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am confident that your kindness and consideration will have been friendly to me in making my excuses, before I could catch an opportunity of offering them to you, for so long a delay in acknowledging your kind attentions. I have had so much reason, ever since I set my foot in this kingdom, to be thankful to you for the effects of your kind introduction to many good friends, that I have been sincerely anxious to assure you of my grateful sense of your goodness to me. The favourable impression you had made of me has facilitated my endeavours to render myself acceptable to those who on every account were most likely to give me an honourable assistance and advice. I trust that when you hear from them you will learn satisfactory tidings of my conduct towards them, and of their contentment under the language which it has been in

* The Right Hon. Thomas Orde, son of John Orde and Anne Pye; born 1748; M.P. for Aylesbury 1780; for Harwich 1784; again for Harwich 1790; appointed, 1782, Secretary to the Treasury; 1784, Chief Secretary of Ireland; married, 1778, Anne Powlett, natural daughter of Charles, fifth Duke of Bolton, and took the name of Powlett 1794; created, 1797, Baron Bolton; died 1807.

my power to hold. I am perfectly convinced of the entire confidence which I may repose in Mr. Beresford, and I am only afraid that I am very troublesome in my applications for his counsel and guidance. Lord Shannon, Lord Tyrone, the Archbishop of Cashel, the Prime Serjeant,* &c., &c., show me the greatest indulgence, and I feel myself strongly fortified by their manifest good disposition towards me. I hope indeed, that I may venture to reckon a successful beginning in respect to friendly supporters, and that the Duke of Rutland's Government promises at present to be as strong and respectable as any that has for a long time been seen here.

Your anxiety about our friend the Prime Serjeant is very natural upon such a probability as seemed to have been opened of a vacancy in which he is so greatly interested. But I can venture to assure you, and you will understand me, that he does not want a good friend to suggest his name to the Lord-Lieutenant. I think Lord Annaly's recovery very doubtful, but his ability to return to the Bench seems almost out of the question. The consequence, however, of the last case cannot, you know, be immediate.

My dear Sir, most truly and faithfully yours,

THOS. ORDE.

* The Prime Serjeant—The Right Hon. John Scott.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Dublin, 11th April, 1784.

MY DEAR ROBINSON,—By the last packet I received yours of the 1st, which I could not answer before. We have been hurried for the last week, owing to a little curl on the water, which before was quite smooth. You probably know how our business has gone on since I came over; however, I will shortly tell you: On the arrival of our present Government things turned out precisely as I stated them in London. The Duke of Leinster declared himself totally attached to Mr. Fox; Conolly declared the same sentiments, with this reserve, however, that the present times required every man to support Government—that was, in other words, that he would do so until the Reform Bill was rejected; Mr. Ponsonby waited for orders from the Duke of Portland; Lord Clifden and the Archbishop had heard from Ellis,* but did not choose to work for nothing. Thus things stood, and the parties threatened opposition. However, negotiation took place; Conolly professed support; Clifden and his brother demanded *quid pro quo*, and were rather stout; but I encouraged Orde, and spoke to both of them myself strongly, and brought them to reason.

* The Right Hon. Welbore Ellis, son of Welbore Ellis, Bishop of Meath, and Diana Briscoe; born 1713; appointed Vice-Treasurer Ireland, 1756; Secretary at War 1762; Treasurer of the Navy 1777; Secretary of State 1782; M.P. for Melcombe 1760; for Petersfield 1767; for Weymouth 1774, 1780, 1784; for Petersfield 1791; created, 1794, Baron Mendip; died 1802.

Luckily, the Duke of Leinster had got scent of a new office—President of the Council—demanded it, and resigned his pretensions to the post-office, which just suited Clifden and secured him. His brother however, being told that his demand could not be complied with, they struck; but the two Members for Callan have declared to Orde that they are a distinct company, which lowers his numbers to five. The Duke of Leinster is declared a friend, but a cool supporter—will do whatever Mr. Fox will desire him at any minute; and I do not think that anything will tie him, unless it be an office which has rank or precedence belonging to it, for I believe that it would kill him if any man in the kingdom was entitled to walk out of the room before him.

Ponsonby fairly stated his case, and said that he waited for orders, which, when they came, he would obey. He was left to himself, and has closed with Government, and I believe sincerely. The particular arrangements are not finally settled, but must very soon.

The uncertainty of things when we arrived, with these negotiations, have kept everything very quiet in Parliament, and every measure has gone as they could wish.

However, I do not like the complexion of things in this country; there is a bad spirit abroad, the bulk of the people is dissatisfied, and worked up to demand (for it is now come to that) they know not what. Incendiaries have made some progress in disuniting their affections from Great Britain, and I do assure you I am not without fears that I may live to see the too visible effects of their labours.

The House of Lords has been very troublesome, and

is likely to be more so. I have my doubts whether the means intended to quiet them will not have a contrary effect. When offices are appropriated to the Lords, the scramble for them may possibly cut both ways.

The Protecting Duties were despatched by a great majority on Friday se'nnight; on the Monday after, Blaquièrè brought in a Bill for paving and lighting the city. A meeting of the aggregate body of the city was called, under pretence of opposing this Bill, but in reality to create a riot, which was accordingly brought about.

The mob broke into the House, got into the gallery, and put the question, that "Foster should be hanged," and declared it carried in the affirmative, *nem. con.* The magistrates, I believe, did not do all that they could have done to prevent this riot, but whether that be so or not, a motion was made by Foster to appoint a Committee to inquire into their conduct. On this, he and the Lord Mayor* had high words. A report was made that the Lord Mayor had not exerted himself as he ought to have done. This has caused much ill blood. Another aggregate meeting is called for next Wednesday, to consider the conduct of the magistrates, or I suppose to contradict Parliament.

I own I think it was foolish to go thus far and stop. What public end could it answer, except to involve Parliament in a silly dispute about nothing, where they have much to lose and nothing to gain?

The newspapers have also abused Foster most grossly, and exhibited him on a gallows. He moved for, and

* The Lord Mayor—Alderman Greene.

had the printers summoned to appear, and has brought in a Bill to restrain the press. I acknowledge the abuse of the press, and I think it ought to be restrained within due limits, but I doubt the temper of the times and the prudence of thus doing it now.

However, as we are embarked, we must be stout and fight it out; but Orde must not again suffer gentlemen to involve him without first consulting him, and having his consent. I do hope that they have recommended Scott to a peerage with the Chief Justiceship, for they must have him there, and that they know.

Ever sincerely yours,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROBINSON.

Abbeville, 19th June, 1784.

MY DEAR ROBINSON,—You will have heard from Orde the situation of this country; it is certainly not a pleasing one; still I hope it may be made better, but I am cautious what I say, and more so what I write. I shall, therefore, defer this until we meet, which I foresee may happen before very long. Your conjectures about the mode in which business here would be conducted has turned out exactly true; you guessed the particular point in which it was likely that there might be a failure, and there it is.

Scott, I beg pardon, his Lordship, is at this moment the happiest of men, just in the situation he could wish for. He wants nothing now but the satisfaction of

sitting in judgment on his Grace of Portland, who would have a poor chance of escaping the Chief Justice.

Your politics have all turned out most wonderfully exact according to what you always told me. Some of your old friends must see and lament their folly.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Rainham, Dec. 8th, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter to apologise for not staying to take leave of us in the morning was too replete with friendship to allow me to repine at the disappointment.

Lady Townshend has shown me your letter of the 1st, announcing the creation of Marquesses. I enclose to you a correct copy of the Duke of Grafton's letter (as a friend), that, whenever you do not pay a proper court to ministers, you may know what you have to depend on from kings. Yet I hope I shall survive it, as I think I never, whilst in Ireland, was so deficient to my word, when I attempted to carry on my master's service with fidelity to him and to others.

We have the most horrid weather here; I am as attentive to my family at home, and to my flock abroad, as any minister to his. The best wishes of all here attend you.

Lord Bucks has given a ball in Norfolk which outdoes

all that was ever said of him in Ireland. Lady T. will send you a Norwich ballad on the occasion.

With truest regard, yours affectionately,

TOWNSHEND.

(*Enclosed.*)

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON^a TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Grosvenor Square, Oct. 17th, 1766.

MY LORD,—I esteemed myself particularly honoured when Mr. Townshend appointed me, by your Lordship's desire, to be the bearer of your request to His Majesty. If anything can add to the satisfaction I had in obeying your commands, it was to see the most gracious manner in which it was received; and I have His Majesty's orders to acquaint your Lordship, that, though no *resolution* is yet taken by the King to promote any peers to the rank of Marquis, your Lordship may be assured that it will not take place without Lord Townshend being in the number. I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of the most unfeigned esteem and regard,

My Lord,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

GRAFTON.

^a Augustus Fitzroy, third Duke of Grafton, son of Lord Augustus Fitzroy, second son of second Duke, and Elizabeth Cosby; born 1735; succeeded his grandfather 1757; appointed Secretary of State 1765; First Lord of Treasury 1766 to 1770; Privy Seal 1771 to 1775; Privy Seal again 1782; married, first, 1756, the Hon. Anne Liddell, daughter of Lord Ravensworth; secondly, 1769, Elizabeth Wrottesley; died 1811.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Rainham, Monday, Dec. 20th, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your kind letter this morning, and I may say without flattery, that I know not which to admire most, the clearness and force of the reasoning, or the affectionate efforts which you have made so judiciously for your friends. Whatever be the event, I shall ever retain the most grateful recollection of them; and endeavour, if more fortunate, not to be behindhand in reciprocity. The time was so short when I first heard of the intended Marquisates, and the promise so explicit, at a time when I had every reason to believe His Majesty was pleased with my conduct in Ireland, that I thought the mere remembrance of what his intentions were was the most respectful application I could make. Confined as I was by a reverence for the Royal promise, you may conceive that I felt no small delicacy on that account, and flattered perhaps at the same time by repeated expressions of regard for me and my family, and presuming perhaps that my conduct in Ireland, as well as out of office, had evinced that I preferred my master's to my own interest, I hoped to have met with the same approbation from the same quarter. I own that I did not imagine that I had forfeited every pretension to consideration in both the lines which I have served in (for forty years in one), and where the authentic documents of my superiors prove me not worthy of such conclusion.

Your own country, my dear friend, will I am sure always do me the justice to certify that I acted with sin-

cerity and honour there. I never loaded it with a shilling to my family. Lord Rockingham would have given me a pension of 3000*l.* a year on Ireland; Lord Shelburne a pension of 2000*l.* on this country, and the promise of a military government—for what? For sacrificing a man of forty years' service to the Crown for their own arrangements. But by another, whom I will not name, I am forgotten. I will not say more, my friend—I cannot; but I have made up my mind to my situation. I desire, however, that you will express my thanks to Mr. Pitt for what he has felt on the occasion, and my sense of Mr. Rose's* anxiety on the subject; and to assure them both that, whatever may be the issue, no man can feel more strongly the obligation of their liberal and confidential communication. I am happy that Courtney is considered a part of myself; for I had rather die than desert such a friend. Adieu!

Yours affectionately,

TOWNSHEND.

* The Right Hon. George Rose, son of the Rev. David Rose, a clergyman in Scotland. He was brought forward first by Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville; M.P. for Launceston 1784; for Christ Church 1790, which he represented till his death; appointed Secretary to the Treasury 1782, under Lord Shelburne; again, 1783, under Mr. Pitt, till 1801; Vice-President Board of Trade, and Joint Paymaster-General 1804 to 1806; again Vice-President Board of Trade, and Treasurer to the Navy 1807 to 1818; Clerk of Parliaments 1788; died 1818.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Rainham, Dec. 27th, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letter this morning. My circumstances and the weather incline me to prefer writing to going to town. I send you by express a letter to Mr. Pitt, under a flying seal which you will close. It is written on the third mode which you mentioned, and which upon full consideration I think far the best. I cannot express how sincerely I feel the extent of your friendship towards us; and think it very fortunate that you are in town, and may remain a few days longer, though Mr. Dundas^a is arrived by this time. The transferring good offices from one friend to another is seldom so productive as asking through the first.

My former letter to you, and this which I enclose, will, I dare say, fully explain my intentions and the sense of the obligations which I shall have if the thing succeeds, or to any attention of Mr. Pitt in the course of it. My friend Courtney will not, I hope, make his ground desperate with the Minister; for I know that his attachment is but to me. His part in Parliament

^a The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, son of the Right Hon. Robert Dundas, Lord President of Scotland, and Anne Gordon; born 1742; M.P. for county Edinburgh 1774 to 1782; for Newton 1782; for county Edinburgh 1784; for city of Edinburgh 1790 and 1796; appointed Lord Advocate 1775; Treasurer of the Navy 1782 and 1784, to 1800; President Board of Control 1793 to 1801; Secretary Home Department 1791; for War 1794; created, 1802, Viscount Melville; married, first, Elizabeth Rennie 1770; secondly, Lady Elizabeth Hope 1793; died 1811.

latterly was, I believe, a good deal owing to his misapprehension that Mr. Pitt had spoken disparagingly of me. I was, I think, on my journey to Ireland when it happened, and knew it not for some time afterwards. He is a fair, impartial, honourable man. I have given him some hints which will make him suspend his prejudices.

I am no less obliged to you for the caution with which you have acted; and only wish that you could stay to bring the affair to a conclusion, as I am certain that I could not have a better or an abler friend. As you know my sentiments so fully, I wish that you would deliver my letter to Mr. Pitt yourself, if you think proper, and assure him how duly I shall esteem such furtherance as he shall please to give it. Adieu, my dear Sir; the best wishes of all here attend you.

Ever your obliged and affectionate servant,

TOWNSHEND.

LORD BUCKINGHAM TO MR. BERESFORD.

Pall Mall, Feb. 28th, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I am requested by a friend with whom I am so connected as to feel it impossible to deny his solicitation, to write to you upon the subject of the "Ganges," East-Indiaman, seized by your officers. Although I have ventured to write to you upon this subject, you know me too well not to be assured that I should be ashamed of proposing anything improper for you to adopt; and I have been honoured so intimately

with your friendship, that I am equally sure that you would spurn at such an application with resentment and disgust. I do not then talk to you of hardships and vexations from revenue-officers, or the load of unmeaning nothings which I have heard upon this subject; I take it for granted that this vessel did smuggle, for they all do, and that she is fairly seized, because such a prize would render your officers very cautious in their proceedings. There are, however, very many political considerations which make me doubt the *expediency* of proceeding to condemnation and confiscation if it can be avoided. Your knowledge of the two kingdoms will have suggested to you the jealousies existing between them at this moment, and the little disposition to try questions of distinct interest with the temper and wisdom necessary for such decisions. A short time must necessarily place the two kingdoms in their proper relative situation to each other; but that situation is at present so little clear, even in speculation, and so undecided in the minds of both countries, that I own I dread any event that may add to the number of public questions now afloat. You will wonder, then, to what this preamble tends, and how it applies to the seizure of the "Ganges." One word will explain it fully to your comprehension, and more fully than I can state it, not being in possession of the whole of the question, and that word is, that there is an idea that the East India Monopoly, and the points depending upon it, do not stand so fully and so clearly ascertained in Ireland as to preclude all hopes of recovering this vessel and cargo by such a chicane, the consequences of which may be most un-

pleasant to both kingdoms at this moment. Much, in such a question, depends upon the particular article smuggled, and of that fact I know nothing ; but I remember that we both agreed, in 1782, that there were delicacies as to some of the East India goods, and we actually admitted those doubts as sufficient (possibly in law, but certainly in policy) to induce us to waive that ground. All this I feel that you will have fully considered ; but I wished that you should know the fact of an intention, if driven to it, to bring forward those doubts for the opinion of an Irish jury, who, I will venture to say, will have little doubt upon it, particularly if there is a chance of making it a matter of clamour, by bringing the propositions of the East India trade as a bone of contention between the two countries. All these considerations make me very desirous that the matter should be settled if possible ; but in all events excuse, I entreat you, the trouble which I give you.

Our traders here have taken the alarm upon the subject of the Irish Propositions. Lord North and Mr. Fox have encouraged them, and have pledged themselves to obstruct the arrangement in all its branches ; and the change made in Ireland in the tenth Proposition has been most unfortunate ; for it is clear that the whole must fall to the ground if Ireland does not secure most specifically to the general strength that which (as your tenth Proposition now stands) depends upon a contingency too vague to hold out to England a solid contribution. This delay gives time and strength to the clamour ; and the various considerations attending it will, I doubt not, induce you to settle it in Ireland without

any unnecessary procrastination. I have not any doubt of the success of the measure here, if you give us some ground to stand upon ; but you remember how much I pressed it as a *sine quá non*, and the experience of the moment does not impeach that speculation.

Adieu, my dear Sir. I will trouble you to remember me with true affection to the various branches of a family of whom I always think with warm esteem ; and be assured that I am ever,

Most faithfully and sincerely,

Your obedient servant,

NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. ORDE.

Dublin, April 16th, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I was honoured with your letter enclosing the new parts of the intended Bill. I suppose that the application of the surplus continues as set forth in the original draft, and the other parts remain without alteration. My idea was, that Ireland having made her effort to support the expenses, whatever deficiency should hereafter arise might fall on the surplus of hereditary revenue ; the idea of the first Bill somewhat departed from that, and the surplus was only to be affected where the Minister exceeded *the estimate* ; this was subject to one exception, viz. the time of war. The altered draft adds four more exceptions, viz. 1, danger of war ; 2, insurrection ; 3, danger of insurrection ; 4, any such like emergence which the Minister shall think touches

the public safety. The latter exception renders the limitation of the Bill nothing, and therefore I have taken the liberty of drawing the pen over it—being attached to the principle of the eleventh Resolution, and with the rest of the House of Commons pledged to it. I am much obliged to you for the honour you have done me in sending the enclosed; and you will excuse the open and candid manner in which I have given you my opinion.

I am Sir, &c.,

HENRY GRATTAN.

P.S. I have no objection to the addition "*insurrection*;" however, it had been, perhaps, better not to have foreseen it.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. ORDE.

Dublin, April 19th, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I ought to have answered your letter before; I found it in the country, and on my return yesterday proposed to answer it in person. But I lament the impossibility I feel of agreeing to the new Bill in its present shape, being a friend to the eleventh Resolution, which has not, in letter or spirit, the least analogy to those provisions, which depart from it. The draft of the Bill agreed on here, and the draft now submitted, are entirely different; if the difference is insisted on it must be because the difference is substantial; and my uniformity demands of me, in common with the rest of

the Members, an adherence to the Irish Propositions, free from any new matter which shall explain them away. Whatever insurrection or danger of insurrection may exist, the judgment whether it is so or not should be left to Parliament; and the Bill which provides for these events should leave the decision thereon to the sense of the Legislature; that is the only constitutional way of introducing those exceptions.

My objections don't arise from want of very warm wishes for the Government, and I make no doubt the draft may be so drawn as to command the support of every friend of this country.

I am Sir, &c., &c.

H. GRATTAN.

LORD TYRONE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Curraghmore, June 15th, 1785.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—You must have heard what passed in the House of Commons on the Adjournment. Mr. Grattan has taken his decided part, and the nation is to judge. At this hour his conduct is certainly material, it will have weight in the House with other Members, and out of doors it will add strength to the discontent, which every moment increases. Circular letters are sent round to all the trading towns; the respectable people in Waterford did not attend the late meeting; and at this moment I am working hard to prevent another calling of the citizens. In short, in addition to that opposition to everything coming from Government, there is some-

thing more very serious likely to operate on this occasion. The nation appears to me likely to be inflamed, and that inflammation not likely to subside, but to bring on other claims for new adjusting the Constitution.

There are two or three men who left Dublin after the Adjournment staying in this house; I have put their information with my letters, and with what occurs in this part of the country, and they all correspond.

Now, my dear John, what will English Administration do? Can they alter the Propositions so as to make them palatable in this country, or will Government either there or here force them through the House with a scanty majority, or let them appear with the possibility of having their friends in a minority? My opinion is decidedly that, if the Propositions are passed, unless English Administration and the King are as firm as a rock, and united on this point, you will see them repealed. At all events, the only possibility to prevent it, or to keep the kingdom in peace, is to go forward, and seriously enter *on that scheme,* which I have long foreseen it must come to*. It may affect my property in the end, but as to my political situation, I hold that in contempt, further than as you and a few more are concerned. I really do fear for you in the issue which this business may have, and the forward light which you must stand forth in. I fear it will bring universal confusion.

Ever yours affectionately,

TYRONE.

* A Legislative Union.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ORDE.

London, 1st July, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have seen Mr. Pitt, and I am returned again without the Bill, but I have seen it in great forwardness, and I am certain that it could be finished in two days' time. He promised to send, if possible, a rough copy to you by to-morrow night, but he will not, for I know that he is to go to Cambridge to-morrow, and is not to return until Sunday night, so that I am positive that we shall not get the Bill until Monday ; but we shall get it then, and Kelly shall depart in two hours after, at furthest. One cause of his not hurrying himself is, that the evidence on the part of the petitioners closed suddenly, and yesterday, Brooke, Boulger, and another were examined on our part ; they had promised to adjourn to consider the evidence, and to give us an opportunity of replying to such points as might be necessary ; but although Mr. Pitt thought at two o'clock yesterday, that the petitioners would not have done till Tuesday, yet all evidence was closed last night, and Lord Sydney moved to adjourn the further consideration of the business till this day se'nnight. Of course it is impossible for the Resolutions to return to the Commons till Wednesday se'nnight at earliest, and when we have gone through them, Mr. Pitt will move the Bill ; but if your answer is not returned with this Bill, and also a draft of your own, he must delay bringing in the Bill day after day until they do arrive. I have just received yours of the 25th of June, which is very satisfactory, and I trust that all will be well, as your ideas are adopted by Mr.

Pitt, and have coincided with mine. As to the idea of our friends to postpone, it would never do. The Bill will only, in fact, enact the principle. It is the detail, and the manner of executing that, which alarms; that cannot be done now, so that time will necessarily be given for the passions of men to subside; but if a perpetual blister can keep up irritation, there will be men enough found in both countries to apply it. As the intention now is to pass the Bill directly, I shall not stir until I see it through both Houses.

Yours ever sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. ORDE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin Castle, 3rd July, 1785, Sunday night.

MY DEAR SIR,—I did not care to trouble you with a letter, which could contain nothing certain, till I had an opportunity either of talking with our friends here, or of communicating some remarks upon the Bill, which we might possibly have received from you before this night. As we have now but one packet-boat on this side, and the wind blows strongly from the west, I would not any longer delay to send you at least a few lines of information.

The symptoms of party and faction, which plainly showed themselves before our meeting on Thursday, and were then strengthened into a direct disorder, have since broke out in various quarters; insomuch as that I am fully persuaded of a general infection among all of a certain description, whom fear or honesty may not have kept out of reach. We must endeavour to give as much

influence and encouragement as possible to these two guardians, who alone can preserve the health and safety of the community. I am confident that with due vigilance and exertion on our part (by which I mean of our true friends with our own decision), we shall be able to succeed in these salutary precautions. Some, however, seem too far gone to admit of recovery, and I am sorry on many accounts to name Grattan as wholly lost; I cannot well conceive, how this should have happened, except by supposing that every man is deceived in his idea even of his own motives and conduct when he is struck with this vile distemper. It is in vain, however, to carry on the deception. Everything manifests the strong ties of party principles; and of course an oblivion of every honourable presage which was given to us of a very fair and respectable support for the sake of private conscience and public credit. I will own, that I feel personally mortified at the change, because I was weak enough to trust to personal assurances and the confirmation of general opinion, and consequently represented not only the advantages of such a sanction to our measures, but also the reliance we might have on its consistency and duration. I now entirely believe that we are deceived, and therefore without more hesitation we should act accordingly. You will, perhaps (however prepared *nil admirari*), be surprised at hearing that Grattan has attended a meeting at Lord Charlemont's, and has publicly shaken hands with him upon renewal of friendship and of common cause. Some insinuations are thrown out of an attempt by some enterprising geniuses to reconcile the strong dissension and jealousies

so long subsisting between Grattan and Flood. I cannot, however, give credit to this report; but it matters not much to us, we must reckon upon opposition from both of them, and put ourselves upon our defence accordingly, unless we can successfully begin the attack. Now for this purpose or the other your letter of the 27th by Tennant has furnished us with good and well-tempered arms; and I have the satisfaction to assure you that our friends very cheerfully step forwards to learn or practise their exercise. Foster, Lord Earlsfort, Fitz Gibbon, and Parnell, have undertaken to put together a sketch of a Bill from your hinted materials. They will insert into it every favourable provision which they think might be with tolerable reason looked for here, and which our friends on the other side may be thought able to concede. Upon the whole, however, I really do not foresee anything which extends much beyond what you have suggested, and I ought not to omit the great satisfaction expressed on that account. The great points which seem to be wished for, are exceptions in favour of Irish linen and provisions, in the eighth and fifteenth Resolutions, which it is hoped will not meet with objection, as it may be conciliatory and protecting here without injury to our friends of Great Britain. But I will not here partially enter into any specification of our objects, you shall, I trust, hear of them all very shortly and satisfactorily, when, on the arrival of the English Bill, we shall be able to give you ours and remarks on yours. I am glad to find that we have not guessed amiss about the proper interval before our meeting. We can do well then if you shall have got so far as to have brought

in the Bill, because we can then with good grounds state the necessity of delay till it shall have been carried through. The measure is, I believe, as little expected here as it is on your side, and I am anxious to keep it so till all the false and foolish ammunition shall be expended. We have not thought it advisable to refuse an aggregate summons. Our friends will only protest generally against any consideration of a subject which has not yet been regularly notified to this country, and is indeed incomplete even in England. We shall try whether we can have any influence in the formation of such Resolutions as will probably be proposed by the enemy, so as of course to confine them to objections to those parts which we know are likely to be arranged, and to leave us therefore with at least an implied approbation of those on which no doubts have been raised. You will, however, understand that I only express a *hope*, and by no means a confidence.

Ever, with perfect truth, most sincerely and affectionately yours,

THOS. ORDE.

Grattan's letters are enclosed. The last is nonsense and wildness; the others point at the particular objection.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ORDE.

London, 4th July, 1785.

I this day received yours of the 30th, with one from Sackville Hamilton, and another from Cooke. I am

persuaded of what I all along suspected, that Opposition here have left no stone unturned to stir up dissatisfaction and opposition in Ireland, and that they have given directions to all their adherents on your side the water to stop at nothing, provided they find that they can do effectual mischief; I therefore have repeatedly mentioned the caution that I thought necessary in order to secure, at any rate, yourself against a possible desertion.

The course of the debate, and the persons who took a part in it, shows what you are to expect if the measure and form of the Bill, which I hope to send you in a few hours, shall please and satisfy the public; then you will have all your friends with you, but if it should be otherwise, you are not to expect them.

I lay at Rose's last night; he gave me a draft of the Bill at night, and I have read it over this morning, and made such remarks on it as occurred on the sudden, which I have just now delivered to Rose, and he to Mr. Pitt, who is at this moment sitting in Cabinet upon the Bill, while I am writing this in the Board-room, and waiting with an anxious expectation of the result of the Cabinet.

The Bill will best speak for itself; I think you will find nothing in it which can give just offence, unless the Cabinet alter some part of it. But how far this Bill combines, or comes up to the full purport and meaning of the Resolutions, is not for me to determine.

The Bill is drawn up in a hurry, and is not, I think, very clear, or very full, but you will have an opportunity of considering it at leisure. I had not more than an

hour, and not having a copy of the Resolutions, I could only judge from my memory. Some of the objectionable part is totally omitted, and the great and principal points regulated and modelled as you could wish. As to the general form in which it is to be brought forward, I have already acquainted you with Mr. Pitt's ideas, and if they should alter in the present deliberation, I will acquaint you of it. The parts of the Resolution which Opposition have amended with a mischievous intention I have pointed out to you. There is no particular explanation of the words "adequate countervailing duty" in the Bill, but the universal construction is what I before stated, viz., a duty which shall countervail not only the specific nominal duty on articles, but include also the various losses arising to the manufacturers from waste, expenditure of money in duties, &c. I find I can get no answer until half-past eight o'clock to-night, so I must conclude.

Yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. SACKVILLE HAMILTON TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin Castle, 5th July, 1785, 6 in the morn.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Attorney* and Mr. Foster have put together a Bill according to your last skeleton, with the alterations of the Resolutions which you give hope of being admitted. But it is impossible to put the last hand to it till the English Bill comes over, which is

* The Attorney-General—The Right Hon. J. Fitz-Gibbon.

impatiently expected, and if it arrives soon the business may go forward at the next meeting. Mr. Grattan, I fear, is determined to get up upon the Bill, and ride into popularity, but if good ground be given from England, he will make no great impression. Mr. Daly keeps aloof; I am mortified at the part he takes, and cannot prevail upon myself to think he will not come right, when he will give an opportunity to be informed of the intended alterations. I *will* not doubt of him; and of all others, except Mr. G. and the old-established Opposition, I *cannot* doubt. If objections be removed (which will yet leave the valuable parts of the adjustment to both kingdoms), it must succeed, and we shall see the quiet we pine for established for ever. I put the contentions of parties out of the case; they, I foresee, will ever exist here, and that Ireland will be a favourite post from whence to annoy a British Minister. Let the people be kept from interfering, and the harassing of one side by the other in the House of Commons will be of little ill consequence. Success attend your efforts.

Believe me, my dear Sir, ever your most faithful and obedient

S. HAMILTON.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ORDE.

London, July 6th, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—I breakfasted with Mr. Pitt this morning, and did not leave him till this moment, near two o'clock. We had a great deal of conversation, the

whole tendency of which was such as we could wish. I could however gather that there was not the same liberality of sentiment in every member of the Cabinet; at the same time, I think that nothing will be ultimately insisted upon which will be detrimental.

The idea which I stated to you last night of our law, adopting the laws of trade and navigation as they now exist, being made a perpetual law, Mr. Pitt seemed to think, on explanation and discussion, to be of no use. However, as it was made a strong point of, he wished to put in a few words to satisfy some people on that head; I understand Lord Thurlow. He accordingly put down what occurred to him, but it did not appear to me to express more than was already contained in the clause, because, if the principle that these laws ought always to be the same in both countries be once explicitly established, and the benefits of the Acts now to be passed be limited in duration by the condition that these laws shall be the same, and that the English laws are perpetual, I cannot conceive why we should do more than either pass a general Bill, enacting that all such laws now existing in England relative to trade and navigation, which contain or impose equal restrictions, and confer equal benefits on both countries, should henceforth be in force in Ireland, or else that we should enact that the following laws (enumerating them) be of force hereafter in Ireland. But I stated to him, if words appeared in his Bill directing such perpetuity, they might create a suspicion or jealousy which would not otherwise exist, and give opportunity of opposition to what would otherwise pass.

I mentioned his Bill being limited to certain conditions, while ours was desired to be perpetual, and I stated to him that if the perpetuity was to extend to the duties as well as to the laws and regulations, I did apprehend that that would not do. He desired a little time to consider the matter, and told me that he would talk to the Lord Chancellor on the subject, and would at any rate let me have this clause, relative to the fourth Proposition, to send off to-night, and, if possible, the whole Bill, or as much of it as he could, as the Cabinet is to sit on it again this evening.

He desired me to state to you for consideration the following modes of proceeding, not wishing or meaning to postpone concluding everything if thought right, but to try and moot every possible mode of managing. He mentioned three modes of proceeding, and desired your opinion—that is, the opinion on your side the water on each of them, and what would be the consequences.

1st. That the Parliament should pass the Bill now read, and print it, and then adjourn, leaving Ireland to bring in a corresponding Bill, and to proceed in it as far as they shall choose. In fact, to pass it if you can, and then England to take up her Bill again in October or November.

2nd. That the Parliament in England should pass their Bill, and the Parliament in Ireland should proceed immediately with their corresponding Bill. By immediately, it is not intended to preclude proper investigation.

3rd. That they should bring in the Bill here, and print it, do the same in Ireland, and then both Parlia-

ments should adjourn over to October or November, merely to finish the business and prorogue.

Mr. Pitt said that much must depend upon the assurances which Irish Government can give of the satisfaction which any of these modes will create in Ireland, and the ease with which the corresponding Bill can be carried there. Some difficulty may arise on this side from pushing the Bill at so late a season, more especially if the Bill be argued to be a departure from the principles of the Resolutions. He stated that satisfaction to the people of both countries was the first object, and, consistent with that, expedition was the second.

I should not hesitate to say that the second was the best mode. It appears to me to be liable to one objection only, which I believe I stated to you before—the possibility of Ireland taking alarm and saying that no option was left to them, that they could not make any alteration whatever, but either accept the benefits, with such conditions as the law prescribed, or not at all; on the other hand, many advantages would arise from this mode, which we have both already stated.

It is my duty to lay all this before you, and to give you my opinion, that if you write back decidedly on any one of these modes, it will be determined which will be followed.

Half-past eleven o'clock :—Mr. Pitt promised to send me half the Bill early this evening, and I have stayed at home all the night. At nine I got a note to say that he was afraid that he could not send it this night, but if he could before eleven he would. It is near twelve and no

papers. I shall stay till twelve and then give it up. I write everything as it happens, and as near the time as possible, to prevent mistakes, and to give you such information as may enable you to take your measures properly.

Yours ever sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. SACKVILLE HAMILTON TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin Castle, Thursday morn.,
7th July, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—I will not let the messenger go without telling you what great comfort your letter, with the statement of objections made and questions put, with Mr. Pitt's answers to them, has given. That method has cleared up a number of doubts, and leaves little to hope for but the concurrence of the Cabinet. Establish what you have so far brought about, and I do not apprehend that any man of consequence will remain dissatisfied, unless perhaps Mr. Grattan, who has shaken hands with Lord Charlemont.

Nothing now remains to consider but words, which, as you intend to remain in London, will I am satisfied be well weighed in the Bill to be brought in, that nothing which can alarm or shock a tender-nerved patriot may be introduced into it. It is needless to trouble you with any observations till the Bill arrives, which I take for granted will be well sifted here before it returns to you. In the meantime, Mr. Foster has put together a considerable part of the Irish Bill, which the

Attorney has now before him. It puts ideas together, and they may hereafter be shaped to fit to the English Bill.

This day, there is to be a meeting at the requisition of freemen and freeholders to the Sheriffs of the city; and another requisition is handing about for signatures to call a county meeting for the consideration of the Twenty Resolutions. If the inflammation which such assemblies raise would always subside when the cause is removed, it would be unnecessary to give any attention to these; nor can anything more be attempted than to soften, and perhaps give a direction to their objections which may be serviceable when the business shall take that form of which people are not now aware.

Do you think it will be necessary to pass a Bill to prevent a retrospective operation of the Revenue Act? There cannot be any danger that any penalty will be sued for on an offence committed previous to the passing of the law, or that the penalty could be recovered. If, however, you think it necessary, a short Bill can be prepared immediately.

Ever, my dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient, &c. &c.,

S. HAMILTON.

MR. ORDE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Phoenix Park, Thursday morning,
8th July, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—I entreat you not to make any more apologies for your constant correspondence, which is a

constant source of satisfactory information, and enables me to keep up the attention and spirits of our friends, who unite with me in every sentiment about you, and the advantages derived from your mediation. I intended to have sent you the rough draft of Foster's Bill; but the Attorney-General has it, and wishes to make some remarks upon it, so that I will not transmit it till Saturday, when I think it may be in a condition for you at least to see, and to pass your first opinion upon it. I dare say we shall bring it into right shape. We must see Mr. Pitt's before we can venture to issue from hence any decided measure of our own. Every delay on your side operates of course upon us, therefore, with double effect; and I am sorry to find that we shall not yet receive the Bill. I trust, however, that to-morrow at the latest will bring it to us, and we shall not lose a moment in proceeding upon it, in order to make as speedy a return of it as possible. I have some apprehensions that our plan is at least guessed at; for Sir Lucius O'Brien told me yesterday that Lord Charlemont had spoken of it to him. By the way, Sir Lucius is in good humour, and likely, therefore, if not to do us good, to do us no harm. He is very busy at this moment in writing a pamphlet in answer to Lord Sheffield's, wherein he is to thrash the noble Lord very severely. I am, however, almost afraid of Sir Lucius' pamphlets, as he cannot confine his arguments to one side of the question, but falls foul on everything which clashes with his opinion.

I will not now trouble you with more on these matters, as I wish to confine what I have to say to an account of a conversation I had with the Speaker yes-

terday. We got first into good humour about himself, and the favourable disposition of Government towards him. From thence we passed on to the Resolutions; and I turned his attention to the substance of your paper in the way of hypothetical trial, and I found him disposed to express himself in a very different manner from that which he had before used. He had really great hopes that if these matters could be accomplished, we might still bring our object to a happy conclusion before the end of this session. He desired to have upon paper the different points of doubt, and the possible solution or explanation of them; and he promised to return his explicit opinion. I lectured him upon silence, and he assured me that he would not speak except in favour of our proceedings. He declared most solemnly that he was completely attached to the Irish Administration; that he thought Mr. Pitt deserved every grateful regard from this country, because he firmly believed him to be in earnest for the fair settlement of its commercial advantages; but he owned that he had taken a great alarm and prejudice about the conduct of other persons, especially of the Chancellor, who, he believed, was not well affected to Ireland, or to this settlement, or *even to the continuance of Mr. Pitt's power*. I insisted strongly upon the injustice and improbability of his apprehensions. He assured me that he was confident of the last part of his suspicions, as he received his intelligence from an authority which could not be doubted. He then threw out also some apprehensions about Jenkinson; but added that he was

a very good and a very honourable man, to whom he was much attached. I now told him that I was positively certain of his mistake, and that he had been imposed upon by some mischievous person; that as to the Chancellor, he had his whims and particular notions, but that I was sure he could have no object distinct from Mr. Pitt's Government; that I was convinced of his fair support of the present settlement, although he might have on one or two points his own ideas, upon which, however, he would not be obstinate; that I was the more confirmed in this persuasion from being perfectly acquainted with the Chancellor's confidence in Mr. Jenkinson's opinions and advice, which he was in the constant habit of desiring and following; and I was not less acquainted with Mr. Jenkinson's sentiments about Mr. Pitt, his Government, and the Irish settlement, and, therefore, was entirely at ease about the Chancellor; that I had Mr. Jenkinson's opinion on all these matters from himself, and I had also from you a very satisfactory account of a conversation with him, in which he had marked the utmost fairness, and, indeed, liberality upon the subject.

Now it has occurred to me that if Jenkinson has been at all in the habit of correspondence with the Speaker, or could frame any good pretence for a letter, in which he could convey a confirmation of what I have said, without any notice of my communication, it might be very well, and do us all great service.

I am sure that the Speaker has a better opinion than he had of the Government, and especially *its firmness*,

from what I said yesterday. I say no more. Put this in train if you can.

Ever most faithfully and affectionately yours,

THOS. ORDE.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. PITT.

9th July, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—In order to ascertain what are the articles upon which we shall be obliged to frame a schedule of adequate countervailing duties, which I hope may not be so numerous as some people would wish them to be, I shall request of you to give orders immediately to the Custom House to furnish an account of the several articles which form the raw materials of the several manufactures of Great Britain, with the duty now payable on each. I apprehend that this list must be compared with the duties paid on the same articles in Ireland, in order to ascertain the difference between them.

Also orders to the Excise Office, to furnish an account of the articles, the consumption of England, which pay an internal duty on the manufacture, with the amount of the duty on each article.

I take the liberty of suggesting to you the necessity of ascertaining directly the meaning of the eleventh Resolution, whether the words ten and a half per cent. relate to the rate, or to the value, or to both.

Yesterday, Lord Loughborough threw out a sort of opinion that it related to the present actual value of

goods; and yet, from some conversation which I have held with some of his friends, I have reason to believe that his real opinion is, that it relates not to the value, but to the rates, and that he is prepared with an argument on that side, as soon as the Chancellor shall have said that he believes the contrary.

I shall take the liberty to say a few words upon this Resolution—to submit whether the ten and a half per cent. can be said to relate to either rate or value taken in all cases, and whether it must not sometimes relate to the one, and sometimes to the other, sometimes to both. The words of the Resolution are: “That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country are different, on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to an amount not exceeding the amount payable in the other, so that the same shall not be less than ten and a half per cent. where any article was charged with a duty on importation in Ireland of ten and a half per cent. or upwards on the 17th May, 1782.”

The meaning of this Proposition appears to be, that the duties between the two countries should be reduced to the lowest duty now payable in either, provided that when any goods paid a duty of ten and a half per cent. on the 17th May, 1782, they shall not pay less hereafter. The whole of the Resolution points in the most direct manner to the actual duties paid in Ireland on the 17th May, 1782. Now, how are we to know what articles paid a duty of ten and a half per cent. on that day? If a list of such articles was to be called for,

what would the officer return? Why surely he would return every article which appeared upon the face of the Book of Rates to be charged with five per cent. on Custom rate, and five per cent. on Excise rate; and also all such articles as were rated in either Custom or Excise, and paid five per cent. on such rate; and also five per cent. more on valuation either of the importer upon oath in the Customs, or of the officer not upon oath in the Excise, or of both where the article was not rated in either Custom or Excise, which articles, in every case, are subject to five per cent. upon the amount of Custom duty, and also of Excise. If, then, such would be the return, I submit it to you whether the words of the Resolution must not relate to the duties payable on a day certain, and to the particular specific mode or modes by which such duties were actually chargeable upon such day, and if so, whether the words ten and a half per cent. must not relate both to the rate and value, as the case was.

If this be not the meaning, it must be intended that the duties should not remain the same that they have been heretofore; for if the rate be adopted generally, the duties will be somewhat lowered, but a very little. If value be generally adopted, the duties will be very considerably raised. I mean, in both cases, the duties in Ireland.

It is my duty to state fairly what would be the consequences, as far as I am capable of judging, because if hereafter it should happen that the line taken produced unforeseen consequences, uneasiness would ensue.

Now, how will the trade of the two countries be affected in either case? If the words relate to the rate, most articles being rated, very little difference will be made; but if to value, all those goods now rated must pay according to the real value, and that will be much higher than at present.

Now to consider the effect of this on the present state of the trade of both countries: it will be highly disadvantageous to England. Although the balance of trade may be now in favour of Ireland, it must be considered that this arises entirely from two articles, linen and provisions, neither of which pay any duty. The trade of Ireland, therefore, will not be affected by raising the duties; but every article of the manufacture of Great Britain which paid ten and a half per cent. heretofore will probably pay twenty per cent. hereafter, if computed upon the old rate; or when rated only in one Act, will pay fifteen per cent., the real value at this day probably being more than double the old rate.

On the other hand, this may be intended as a protecting duty to the British merchant against his *formidable* rival the Irish merchant. If it is, I am contented to abide by it.

It has occurred to me that the words which were added to the Bill after the exception for corn, &c., viz. "the manufactures made therefrom," may extend to beer, which was not intended.

I have shortly thrown out these thoughts which strike me for your consideration; and remain

Yours most sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. ORDE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Phoenix Park, Sunday night,
10th July, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—I mean to write to you to-morrow by a messenger ; but as a packet sails this night, and I never care to depend entirely upon the winds, I will (although it is now twelve o'clock) write a hasty line to inform you that I have seen the Speaker, and found him totally amenable, because, as I am persuaded, he sees no longer a chance of success from trick or false alarm. He has given me a paper under his hand, which I am sure you will see, as our other friends do, to be only a mode of getting out of his scrape, and, indeed, to make a parade of having done something for the gratification of the pride of his country. He acknowledges that the very thing is implied ; but he says that it will remove all doubt of equality. I do not indeed conceive that there can be any objection to a clause of this kind at the end of both Bills, in regard to the engagement of the one country to the other. But we can best judge of this when we shall see the Bill from England. The Speaker has, in a manner, assured me that he will take care to set Daly perfectly right, and he says that he does not despair of Grattan. I thought it, however, necessary to declare that we would make no overtures whatever to Mr. Grattan ; and, indeed, that it was impossible to submit to his palpable attempt to make the Government dependent upon his caprice or subservient to his popularity. He has chosen to step aside from the high ground on which we had contributed to place him, and

he must be made sensible of his own insufficiency to maintain his eminency of station by any less dignified means. The Speaker acquiesced in the doctrine, but hoped that all things might be arranged without any wound to delicacy on either side.

We are all most sensible of your unwearied and well-considered exertions; and I have my Lord-Lieutenant's particular commands to convey to you his warm sentiments of approbation and esteem. I am happy in finding myself the instrument of communication to you, and will not weaken the force of these testimonies to your conduct by any impertinence of my own sense of the obligations we owe you. You will, however, make me doubly happy by every degree of acceptance you will give to my particular acknowledgments.

Ever most faithfully, &c., &c.,

THOS. ORDE.

(Copy of a Paper left with me by the Speaker.)

The British Resolutions comprehend a great system of commerce of the most extensive and complicated nature. It is not confined to the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, which was the object of the Irish Propositions.

It may be doubted whether the best-informed man in either kingdom knows the extent of it, and whether the wisest can foresee what will be the effect of it.

It is not hazarding much to say, that if it shall be adopted, it will soon require many alterations, additions, and regulations, which cannot now be foreseen, but which time will discover.

The duration of the system must depend upon its proving advantageous in its operation to both kingdoms. If either kingdom shall find itself materially injured by it, the Legislature of such kingdom will not hold itself bound to support it; and without such support it cannot long subsist. It is impossible to bind the Legislature by any Act of Parliament—the British Resolutions import such an intention. It may be asserted without the imputation of rashness, that it will be found impracticable. It is, however, just that neither kingdom shall derive any benefit from the agreement longer than it complies with all the conditions and terms of it; this is the best, if not the only security for the permanency of the system, of which it is capable, especially if it proves to be as beneficial to both countries as it is said to be; and it deserves consideration whether it may not be prudent to insert an express clause in the Bill for that purpose. Many advantages would result from it: it would quiet the apprehensions of the people on both sides of the water, who now think they are entering into an agreement which few understand, and which must bind them for ever, let the consequences be never so injurious to them. It may reconcile some here to give their consent to what they may consider as a temporary suspension only of some rights, which they will not be persuaded to relinquish for ever; and what appears to be of the utmost consequence, it will remove all those difficulties with respect to constitutional rights which are supposed to be affected by several of the British Resolutions.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ORDE.

London, 14th July, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Propositions are gone through, are to be reported to-morrow with the amendments, and debated on Monday. There are great doubts whether we are to appropriate the surplus by annual Acts, or by one Act. It was laid down by Lord Thurlow, and generally assented to, that we must do it now by one Act.

As to Theophilus Clements, he has paired off with George Montgomery; and though in ordinary cases it may not be advisable to give up man for man, yet I assure you that I am glad that Montgomery does not go over. I never heard anyone so violent. He actually exposed himself in the House of Lords, where a sense of decency might have been a sufficient guard against such conduct. Clements consulted with Rose, and even with Pitt, and offered to come back from Spa if necessary; but he requiring Spa as much as his wife, it was thought best to let him pair. I certainly think it absolutely necessary for you to produce all your forces. I only hope that there may not be two species of desertion, one to the enemy, the other from your own standard. Remember the doctrine that he who is not with me is against me. I have for some time determined to take my son* over with me, and Barré has got Perry in his place. I thought, and so did Barré, that it would not be right to do otherwise. It is a great disappointment to him; but it cannot be helped.

* Marcus Beresford, M.P. for Dungarvan, who was then studying at the Temple.

In the ordinary course of things, I do not see precisely when the Bill will reach you. On Tuesday notice must be given of a day to consider the amendments, probably about Friday. When the amendments are agreed to, Mr. Pitt will move his Bill. This will be said to be a surprise, and time will be desired. We must not be astonished if application should be made to be heard by counsel against the Bill. It must be printed, and time must be allowed. I conceive, therefore, that it will be at least the 27th before the Bill can get through the Commons; and then the Lords will again play their game. In short, if the Bill receives the Royal Assent the 7th August, I shall say that we are well off. I wish that you could agree that the House should adjourn from week to week, and then to give notice when business may be expected.

Yours ever sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ORDE.

London, 18th July, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—I came to town this day from Mr. Pitt's, where I have been since Saturday, and found Hacket, who arrived five minutes before me, with your letter and the Irish Bill, with remarks upon the English Bill. I ran over your letter in a great hurry, and went down to Mr. Pitt with Rose, who was with me; I read him your letter, and he read Hamilton's also. He goes to Putney Common to dinner, and takes with him the

Irish Bill and the remarks, and will be able to give me an answer to-morrow I hope.

I have hurriedly read the Irish Bill over, and I think it will answer his ideas in almost everything ; the clause relative to the laws of navigation and trade goes only to those existing at this day. The principle, it is true, is acknowledged, but how far it may be thought necessary to those which may hereafter be enacted, I cannot say.

I was not able to read the remarks, as Mr. Pitt took them away, but I will work at them to-morrow.

I am happy to tell you that the two principal points you mention are already settled—First, as to putting the trade to the East Indies on the same footing as that to the Colonies and in the West Indies, to effect which we drew an amendment to the ninth Resolution last night. As for the concession to the honour or the pride of Ireland, Parnell's idea, I mentioned to you the notion of an Address ; Mr. Pitt has drawn it up. It recites the reason for every variation from the Irish Resolutions, and the reason for the laws of trade being the same, and takes occasion to state that Ireland must for that purpose enact laws, and here, in the most explicit words, introduces the sole right of legislation of the Irish Parliament. If this does not do, what will suffice ? This is only our idea, not quite agreed on ; so communicate it only to the chosen few.

I write in the greatest hurry, and send it by the Post. Possibly the messenger may reach you before this.

Ever sincerely yours,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. W. G. HAMILTON TO MR. BERESFORD.

Brighthelmstone, Sept. 22nd, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—A letter which I received some days since from John Lees acquainted me that you would be soon in London, and Mr. Pitt informed me yesterday that you was actually arrived. I shall consider it as a breach of friendship never to be repaired if you leave England without passing some days with me at this place, to which Mr. Pitt returns on Sunday, and where you can converse with him much freer from interruption than in London. I flatter myself that you will *not reject my propositions*.

Believe me, my dear Sir, your most sincere and faithful, humble servant,

W. G. HAMILTON.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Beckenham, 28th Nov., 1785.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Though that business is not yet brought to any absolute settlement, it is in a state of considerable forwardness; and therefore I mention it, because your friendship for me and your friendly interference in this instance will both induce you to feel a little anxious for the result. We had a meeting on Friday last in Great George Street; and whatever may be the consequence, I must ever acknowledge that I met with a fairness and liberality of conduct beyond what I ever saw in any instance. I had continued to feel

real difficulties respecting any procedure upon any of the plans thus far proposed; but another is suggested by him,* to which I feel fully inclined, and which I am sure you will think preferable to any other. It is not fairly objectionable on any grounds of party, and I flatter myself that the public in general would see it with satisfaction. It remains to be stated to the great person, which I suppose will be done this week; and as soon as I know more you shall hear fully from me.

I have not time to write more at present, for we happen to have our house full of company till Thursday next.

Mrs. Eden joins me in the kindest recollections of your fireside.

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Beckenham, Dec. 17th, 1785.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have passed some days in considerable bustle, and I have not had time to look into newspapers, but I understand that some of them are sufficiently malevolent and very active. I am sorry for it, though they do me a certain degree of honour by annexing so much importance to my political conduct. As to all that, it will blow over. In the meantime, I am much occupied to put the business, which is of infinite and lasting importance, into right train. The inquiry seems to be starting well. It must also be extended to

* Mr. Pitt.

Ireland, on the general ground that it is material to have a just representation of the interests of all the various branches of the trade and manufactures which can be affected by the French arrangement.

Think of this; it must be referred to the Irish Government. I shall soon have leisure and materials to write to you more fully about it. We shall be here chiefly till the 4th January, and shall then settle in town for some weeks, till we are ready to move to the Continent.

Remember us most kindly at home.

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

The Archbishop of Cashel is not pleased that Mr. Orde has not yet communicated any plan of the session. You may as well suggest this in a friendly way.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Blenheim, Jan. 6th, 1786.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have taken leave of Beckenham and have arranged all affairs there, and have lent the place to the Archbishop^a for the summer months. I am now passing three or four days with this family, to which I owe great obligations, having for many years to a great degree been adopted. In our way to town we shall pass a day with Lord Loughborough; after which I shall settle in Parliament Street till we proceed to the Continent. I have seen Lord North since I

^a Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury.

accepted this situation, and without unkindness on his part ; and the most affectionate correspondence is passing every day among the ladies. At the same time, however, it is sufficiently visible to me that he is much hurt at my separation from the party line of politics, though there was no party question existing, and though he freely admits that, under all circumstances, he could not have advised me to do otherwise. For all this, and even for more, I can make fair allowances ; it is not, perhaps, in the nature of man to feel otherwise, more especially when I know that he is goaded and inflamed by people who have access to him, some of whom are perfectly silly, and others of whom are acted on by a sense of self-interest under disappointment. That matter, therefore, must be left to its course ; I care very little for any rancour which is likely to exist anywhere, or for any of its effects ; and with regard to our worthy friend above alluded to, in some odd turn of some odd corner I may have it my power to be of service to him or some of his family ; and if you can ever well concur with me in that view, I am sure that you will most gladly.

From the first opening of our inquiries among the different manufacturers, there is every reason to believe that the utmost practicability will prevail among them, so far as to give up the old exclusions of French manufactures, and to admit them upon similar duties to those of other countries. I am anxious much to know how the matter strikes you as between France and Ireland. It grows a very large question here, for there is every private reason to believe that there is a serious wish in the French Ministers to enter with us into solid and

extensive arrangements. We can lower our Claret duty 34*l*. a pipe without any infraction of the Methuen Treaty; but I think that with you the Methuen Treaty is at this hour renounced, and your Port duties are almost as high as those on Claret. How is your Brandy duty? I forget whether you prohibit the importation of linens from the Continent; and how you are as to cambric.

Except some fair teasing of Mr. Pitt on the first day of the session, upon the Irish business, and some occasional impertinences about me, I think it probable that our session may be quite a flat business; which I am glad of, more especially as I cannot attend it. I have more uneasiness about your session; Is your plan for it yet settled? What measures do you bring forward; and what nonsense shall you have occasion to resist? Are you going to propose any plan about warehousing as a general measure? I heard such a report, but suppose it a lie. It should be well considered, and at no rate should anything of the kind be done exclusive of England without her acting *pari passu*.

I continue to have every reason to be perfectly satisfied with Mr. Pitt, both personally and politically; and I also flatter myself that his sentiments are equally favourable.

Our kindest remembrance to Mrs. Beresford.

Yours most affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Parliament Street, Jan. 27th, 1786.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I told you on Monday last some little of the difficulties which I foresee in carrying forward the two kingdoms upon a conjunct system in the French negotiation; I feel that more earnestly in proportion as the prospect clears respecting the British part of the question. Perhaps, on full examination, it might not be impracticable to reconcile the whole to principles of mutual interest. But this must be done with management. What would be best, I think, would be that your Government should collect only information, and papers of accounts, explanations of trade as relatively considered in the commerce of Ireland with the principal Powers of Europe, and also the smuggling trade of Ireland with the interior of France, through Dunkirk, Ostend, &c. But as to arrangements of opinions and inferences, it can only be done well and safely by the attendance personally of two or three of your most respectable people at our Council Board, with the Committee which is now sitting every day. If you could be proposed with Lord Shannon for that purpose, I should think it would do well, and I see nothing in the state of your session to make it difficult or very inconvenient. Do not yet take notice of this idea as suggested anywhere, but turn it in your mind. I do not know how far it can be worked into any practicable shape.

You see that I went to the House in the most marked system of meeting anything which might deserve to be

met. It was very material to show that the load of stupid libels which has been accumulated is not avoided by anybody in any degree respectable.

I must finish here for the moment.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, very affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Parliament Street, Feb. 28th, 1786.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—You have mentioned to me in both your last letters, and Cooke has done the same, that large accounts respecting the French commerce were prepared, and would be sent immediately. They are not yet arrived. I wish that you would have the goodness to request Mr. Orde to expedite them; for I am likely to leave this country about the 20th of next month (this day three weeks) at the latest. I agree with you that good advice was not to be expected from your people; at the same time I wonder, and have hinted as much to Foster, that some of your leading individuals have not stepped forward; for after all there is much to be said, and many obvious points of very important discussion. In the interchange of iron manufactures, of slight stuffs and poplins, of mixed stuffs, of glass, and, as I am assured, even of linens and of leather, it is the opinion of our best-informed people that Ireland would be comparatively much more benefited than England. It is not a question to be tried on smuggling reasons; a

legal trade with a most extensive and populous market, upon proper terms, is a speculation of infinite extent and magnitude. Pray turn these matters in your mind.

You will see in this night's papers a better account than I can give you of a debate which I did not hear. Your friend Barré's speech is represented as having been very hostile to Mr. Pitt, and to have conveyed an impression as if the latter was to be considered a political dependant of the great Lord in Berkeley Square! The loss of the question will, I suppose, have no further consequences. It will hardly induce the Duke of Richmond to resign, and he is the person principally affected.

After all, it proves what I have said to you, that it is a very loose Parliament, and that Government has not a decisive hold of it upon any material question. Lord Gower is to be made a Marquis immediately. There are accounts of a Spanish ship, with two millions sterling, being lost off the coast of Portugal; this will fall heavy on our merchants, and possibly on our insurers.

I see much of Pitt, and it is on the most friendly, confidential, and honourable terms.

Yours ever most affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Paris, April 20th, 1786.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—We have now been here three weeks, and are all perfectly well. We have got

an excellent house, completely furnished, by a lucky chance, for it is very difficult; the Bankers whom we employed had failed in getting us one. This is the Hôtel d'Elbœuf, Rue Vangirard, close to the Luxembourg Gardens; by the bye, we *only* pay 9000 livres for six months. We can give you a bed if you come here with Mrs. Beresford to finish your education; and this is an offer which we shall not extend to above three or four people in this world.

I have made a very considerable progress in my business here, and much to my own satisfaction. I think that it will also be to the satisfaction of our friend in Downing Street; at least it is now brought to the precise point which on full examination we had agreed to be most eligible; if, therefore, there is no wavering of opinions, you will soon see the "*traité préliminaire*." I have no doubt about the cheerful accession of England and Scotland to it; their complaint will be that it does not go far enough. As to Ireland, her interest is very strongly concerned to adopt it, and to push the same system still further; but I content myself with a clause which leaves her at full liberty to do as she likes, and, therefore, she can only quarrel with herself. The impression which the approximation of these two great empires will make upon the speculations of all the foreign powers in Europe is not to be described. There is no suspicion here in the *corps diplomatique* that we are so near a conclusion; but in the meantime, their intrigues and earnestness upon the subject are as great as possible. If we are really sincere in what we are

doing, we certainly might not only remain at peace with each other, but might give law to the world.

I have not lately had time to advert much to the state of the English and Irish session; but the former seems likely to get into action. Yours may as well finish, if it is only to be occupied by speeches of Chief Justices and Archbishops, upon the comparative merits of Mrs. Daly and Mrs. Siddons.

I am every day at dinners of ceremony, &c., &c. I wish that part of the story was over; and shall then amuse myself and improve the children till November.

Our love to Mrs. Beresford.

Yours ever affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Paris, May 11th, 1786.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—What you mention respecting Mr. Orde's health, and the very precarious situation of the Chancellor's life, are circumstances which must be very embarrassing to Mr. Pitt. I know nothing of his plans on these points; but as your session is concluding, I think it probable that the affairs of the Castle will be left to Sackville Hamilton and the ordinary routine of office, till November.

It seems to be impossible for Mr. Orde to undertake another session. It is a situation which, in many

respects, is very eligible to any man, and yet there are few who would accept it, and fewer still who are fit to fill it. It has been whispered to me that Lord Mornington^a is in the first class.

As to the Chancellor, if a vacancy should happen, Mr. Pitt will be obliged to make Kenyon^b a peer, to fight the law questions, and Jenkinson a peer to conduct the Parliamentary business. I am much vexed in these matters respecting the situation of a friend^c of mine; but it is utterly impossible to do anything, or to attempt anything respecting it. In the meantime, the illness of the Chancellor occasions much delay in my business here.

The English session has the appearance of lasting till the middle of July.

I am living here with rather more expense than I

^a Richard Colley Wellesley, second Earl of Mornington, son of Garrett, first Earl, and the Hon. Anne Trevor Hill; born 1760; succeeded 1781; M.P. for Windsor 1784 and 1790; appointed, 1786, Lord of the Treasury, till 1797; Commissioner of the India Board 1793 till 1797; Governor-General India 1797 till 1805; Secretary of State 1809; Lord-Lieutenant, Ireland 1821 till 1828; again 1833 to 1835; Lord Steward 1830; Lord Chamberlain 1835; created Marquis 1799; married, first, 1794, Hyacinthe Roland; secondly, 1823, Maria Caton, widow of Robert Paterson; died 1842.

^b The Right Hon. Sir Lloyd Kenyon, second son of Lloyd Kenyon and Jane Eddowes; born 1732; appointed Attorney-General 1782; again 1783 (December); Master of the Rolls 1784; Chief Justice of King's Bench, *vice* Lord Mansfield 1788; M.P. for Hindon 1780; for Tregony 1784; created a Baronet 1784; Baron Kenyon 1788; married, 1773, Mary Kenyon; died 1802.

^c Lord Loughborough.

could wish; but in other respects, my life is slipping away very pleasantly.

Believe me, my dear Beresford,

Very affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Cork Street, June 3rd, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR,—I cannot help taking up the pen to acquaint you with a piece of intelligence which I am sure will convey great pleasure to you: Alderman Townshend^a told me last night in the House of Commons (which I left, on the division at eight in the morning, with the Chief Baron^b) that a most cheerful letter had been received from Barré. Pray God he may see his friends again!

Division on Warren Hastings this morning, after long discussion and altercation, chiefly between lawyers, upon words which contain little or no difference, on the motion, 117 to 67. The best speakers certainly were for impeachment, amongst whom some of Mr. Pitt's con-

^a James Townshend, Member for Calne, and colleague of Colonel Barré.

^b The Right Hon. James Montgomery, second son of William Montgomery and Barbara Rutherford; M.P. for the county of Peebles 1767 to 1775; appointed Lord Advocate 1766; Chief Baron of Exchequer, Scotland 1775; created Baronet 1801; married Margaret, only daughter of Robert Scott, of Killearn; died 1803.

nections, as Wilberforce^a and Hardinge;^b Mr. Burke very brilliant sometimes, but prolix; Mr. Fox wonderfully great, beyond anything I ever remember him; Mr. W. Grenville^c the best on the other side; and Mr. Dundas. Mr. Burke has some further operations on this point.

The Chancellor has not relapsed as reported, nor is the Duke of Northumberland dead, though very bad. Blue ribbons flew abroad yesterday—among the rest, the Marquis of Buckingham's.

Lady Townshend and I stay till after the birthday in town, and then return, as soon as the militia passes to Norfolk. The Chief Baron dines with me at Mr. Rose's on Wednesday next, and then returns to Scotland, without the lassie. I conclude that you have heard of the unfortunate affair of my son John's;^d he behaved well in the field.

I remain yours most affectionately,

TOWNSHEND.

^a William Wilberforce, son of Robert Wilberforce, of Hull, and Elizabeth Bird; born 1759; M.P. for Hull 1780; for Yorkshire 1784, which he continued to represent till 1812, when he was returned for Bramber; died 1833.

^b George Hardinge, M.P. for Old Sarum.

^c The Right Hon. William Wyndham Grenville, third son of the Right Hon. George Grenville and Elizabeth Wyndham; born 1759; M.P. for borough of Buckingham 1782; for county of Bucks 1784 till 1790; appointed, 1782, Chief Secretary Ireland; 1784, Paymaster-General; 1786, Vice-President Board of Trade; 1789, elected Speaker of the House of Commons; resigned the same year, and appointed Secretary of State; 1791, President of Board of Control; First Lord of Treasury 1806; elected Chancellor of Oxford 1809; married, 1792, the Hon. Anne Pitt, daughter of Thomas, Lord Camelford; died 1834.

^d The Hon. John Townshend, afterwards Lord John, second son of Lord Townshend and Baroness Ferrers; born 1757;

LORD TYRONE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Curraghmore, Sept. 10th, 1786.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—The state of the country has obliged me to use exertions which I did not think myself capable of. I will not recapitulate what I have gone through; and I wish that I could say I saw anything like a conclusion to the disturbances.

Lord Luttrell has been here. He has received some addresses, from which he imagines things subsiding; but to me these very addresses would prove the contrary if I had not more substantial reasons for my opinion. They all dwell on grievances, and call on Parliament to redress them. What must be the consequences of yielding to clamour backed by force? for no one, in his heart, can differ as to the fact; and the lower people, you know, are quick in discernment, easily elated, and full of the idea of their own strength. At this moment the complaints go to the exactions of their own clergy and of tithes. I have my doubts of the sincerity of the former; and I foresee infinite difficulty as to the latter in respect to both kingdoms, should Parliament take up the subject with the intention of substituting a new mode of paying the clergy. Expectations of advantage to the holders of land at present, and to the proprietors in future, have involved classes in encouraging these disturbances, which you could not easily conceive. It is, therefore, likely to

M.P. for University of Cambridge 1780; M.P. for Westminster 1788; for Knaresborough 1796, 1802, 1806, 1807, 1812; appointed Lord of the Admiralty 1782; Joint Paymaster-General 1806; married, 1787, Georgina, daughter of W. Poyntz; died 1833.

become an Opposition topic, and possibly a popular one, while the friends of Government differ in their opinions, and, without intending it, add to the confusion. In the interim, there stands an arrayed body of all the southern inhabitants, determined, after gaining a victory as to tithes, in the next instance to regulate the letting of land, and to begin with the agencies and properties of absentees.

This body gains strength every day, and act so that the few middling people who have kept out of their lists must be ruined; nothing is bought from or sold to them without tracing who are at the bottom; it is easy to know who may be at their head, and that this banditti are ready for any bad purpose, domestic and foreign. Our assizes ended on Saturday; the Chief Baron* did not know that he pranced a little—but on the whole he behaved well. Government are taking the most effectual methods to prosecute, and have sent the Crown Solicitor and Wolfe the Munster Circuit. To-morrow I intend going to Dublin for a few days—my business is to talk over these things with the Duke. I know his reliance on me; and however unpleasant to me to represent what I blush for, I owe it, however, to him and to the Government. You will hardly believe from this long letter that I am nearly blind, my eyes are so heated that I am in misery.

Affectionately yours,

TYRONE.

* Barry Yelverton, afterwards Lord Avonmore.

LORD TYRONE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Tyrone House, Sept. 13th, 1786.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I passed most part of this morning with the Duke of Rutland, and in the fullest manner expressed my sentiments upon the state of things in this country, and the difficulties which will follow when Parliament meets ; and I had the satisfaction to find his Grace impressed with very much the same ideas. I really am astonished at the prejudices and ignorance which reigns among those I have conversed with since my arrival in town : they all imagine that the combinations have only for object the clergy, that tithes ought to be abolished, and that the whole will subside on the people being relieved from the oppressions that they complain of.

Mark the consequences, exclusive of foreign considerations, of this country taking the lead on a subject where the mode is the same as in England, and where, from the strength of Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, the Established Church stands in need of every support ! Our Parliament began with the Tenantry Bill, and by an arbitrary construction, contrary to the express words in leases and decisions in the English Parliament, determined not only the future but the past. All oppression was to be at an end, and the tenantry contented. Now comes the Church. Agencies and the letting of land will be the next, if the country exist so long. That the subject of tithes must come into discussion is certain ; it will not be easy to prove the exactions complained of, although there is no denying that there are oppressions. In the absence of the few active

persons who will be engaged in Parliament, there is no foreseeing what may happen in the south—how far they may be provoked and encouraged; and in the north, if once the hope of abolishing tithes should come among them, what lengths they may go to back the south. I acknowledge that, in the first instance, I thought the whole proceeded from the Roman Catholics. I am now convinced that I was mistaken, and that every profession has had an equal share, and that private advantage is one of the chief motives which has stimulated. There, however, stands the connected body, almost entirely Roman Catholic, ready for whatever purposes designing men may suggest, and in the backing their demands. I am thus full because I am sure that, unless the whole of this subject is thoroughly understood in England, and a determined part taken, the most serious consequences may be expected, and that when the Parliament is sitting it will be too late for laying down general principles. The Duke^a means to state all this to Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Orde will have directions to adjust matters with the Ministry. You will take such a part as propriety and prudence will direct. You will inform me when the English Parliament meets, that I may take my seat at the opening, and be back in time to attend the business of this country, which his Grace looks to with firmness, but with a full conviction of all the various and interesting subjects likely to create difficulties.

^a The Duke of Rutland wrote a long despatch to Mr. Pitt on this very subject, which is given at length in a short collection of his Grace's and Mr. Pitt's correspondence, edited by Lord Mahon and privately printed.

This goes with my boys; they have waited since Thursday for a fair wind and packet, and are not likely to sail to-morrow.

Ever affectionately yours,

TYBONE.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Paris, 15th Sept., 1786.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I yesterday received yours by the courier, who was detained by the weather. I hope to write fully by the messenger whom I shall have occasion to despatch in the course of next week; in the meantime I am obliged to go to Versailles. I shall try to improve the linen article according to Foster's very indefinite suggestions. It would not be easy, even if the recommendation had been decisive. It is merely a guarded belief that of three duties which you charge upon imported linens, *perhaps* the hereditary duty only would be the best mutual duty for Ireland. Mr. Pitt will show you the only mode which occurs to me of managing under this difficulty, and I hope to get it adopted here.

As to the great consideration, I suppose Mr. Foster thought it right to excite my zeal by saying that he considered the benefits to Ireland in other respects would be inconsiderable. I have informed him in very broad terms, which I hope he will show you, that I differ utterly from him in this supposition. I really believe that the advantage to Ireland will be extensive, and of

essential importance. I will write more fully to you on this hereafter. In the meantime, the attention to Ireland is very peculiarly marked in the Treaty.

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Paris, Oct. 3, 1786.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have, in answer to Mr. Foster's long letter, sent him to-day a paper of queries, and a copy thereof to Mr. Pitt. I wish that you would get a copy made for you, study it and correct it, and write to me upon it.

I am satisfied that the reasoning which I have stated is solid, but it by no means follows that it should satisfy any class of your Dublin manufacturers, or any man who chooses to talk against it in the Irish House of Commons. There is one good circumstance in the present business—that if the parties whom I think essentially interested to accept do not choose to accept (and thankfully too), they are at liberty to decline; and if they choose to say that they get no good, at least they must allow that they get no harm. We are well here, and very sorry for all the melancholy deaths that we hear of from England.

Believe me, my dear Beresford,

Ever very affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

I have written to our friend Rose to get you a copy

of that paper from Mr. Pitt. I wish also that you would make Cooke understand it.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. EDEN.

Abbeville, 16th Oct, 1786.

MY DEAR EDEN,—I wrote you a few lines on my arrival last week; since that time I have been asked several questions upon the subject of the Treaty, and have had an opportunity of hearing many opinions.

All whom I have yet heard on the subject are pleased with the terms, as given in the newspapers, except as to the article of wine, which is stated erroneously to be settled at a duty equal to that at present paid on wines of Portugal, that is here 50*l.* per tun, including the 30*l.* laid on to punish Portugal. I understood that in England the duties were to be—French wines at present duty of Portugal wines, with power to reduce the duty on Portugal wines one-third, according to the Methuen Treaty; that in Ireland our duty was to be one not exceeding our present duty on French wines, with a like power as England as to the wines of Portugal. I had a letter this day from Foster, and he says, “I am not easy about the linen duties. Eden agrees with me that the hereditary duty would be the most eligible, but he says this is only our opinion.” He then wishes for the northern drapers to be consulted, on their return from Chester fair. There can be but one opinion on this subject, which is, that if any possible disadvantage

can arise to the Irish linen trade by the Treaty, it must be in the English market, for to imagine that France can send linen here is ridiculous ; therefore it is clear that the higher we can keep the duties between England and France, and the lower between Ireland and France, to let ours into the latter country, the more advantageous to us.

Foster's idea of adhering to the hereditary duties is a good one, if it can be carried out, but I look upon it only as a species of argument, which if the French will swallow, they are greater fools than I take them to be. As to consulting the northern drapers, I am totally against it, although I am sure they would be of our opinion ; but if you consult one branch, why not all ? In case we were to do so, one or two incendiaries would set the country in a flame.

I wrote to Foster for a copy of your paper and queries. He sent me the original, which I have read, and understand perfectly, except your reference to the Tariff, which you suppose us to have seen ; we have not seen it, and therefore your explanation of the several articles I cannot understand, although I can guess pretty well at them from your short statement. I shall write to Rose to let me have the Treaty, Tariff, &c., as soon as possible, as I wish to make myself master of the subject, as I shall probably have occasion to justify it. I beg you also to give me any hints and information that occur to you, for the same purpose.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Lambeth Palace, Dec. 2nd, 1786.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—The bustle to which I am exposed on coming to England for so short a visit is, I think, beyond anything I ever experienced, and yet I have occasionally been hurried and worried before. I have received your two letters, and I will now only hastily write on some points which seem to press, and I will write more at leisure hereafter.

As to the linen question; I am surprised that the Ministers have not communicated both with you and Mr. Foster. It is understood between the French Government and me that the "Dutch duty" means only the "hereditary Dutch duty," and I gave a formal declaration, which was accepted, to that purpose. I will send you a copy of that declaration; but I wish your Act to adopt this plan quietly and without remark, for various reasons, and merely as a matter of course. I understand the hereditary duty to be $4\frac{3}{4}d.$ per annum.

It is difficult for Ireland to find any possible quarrel with the Treaty under the liberty of taking as much or as little of it as she chooses; I am, however, every hour more convinced that it is *all* most essentially important to her. In England the Treaty is at least as popular as I wish, and I have taken more pains to check expressions which might give jealousy to France than to counteract the stupid libels which are published.

More of this matter in my next.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. EDEN.

Dublin, 24th February, 1787.

MY DEAR EDEN,—Yesterday, too late for post, we passed our opinions on the French Treaty : it was opened by Mr. Orde, in a state of health which disabled him from doing more than referring to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for a full explanation ; he said his say, not much to the purpose, but so much so, that not a single observation was made ; Mr. Hartley^a asked three questions, which I answered ; he was perfectly pleased, and I content.

Mr. Corry,^b who got up against the Treaty, having nothing to say on that subject, confined himself to an abuse of Orde for not speaking more to the subject, and giving what he called a luminous oration—the Secretary of State answered him in a very luminous oration ; Sir Hercules followed, equally dull ; George Ponsonby ditto ; Forbes requested time ;—that was the idea taken up. We then told them that by passing the Resolutions they would appear in the votes, and give them an opportunity of being perfectly acquainted with them ; this took, they said it was very candid, and suffered us to pass them all in Committee ; and we are to report on Monday. Our Resolutions are the same as those passed in England.

^a Travers Hartley, a merchant in Bride Street, Dublin, and Member for that city.

^b The Right Hon. Isaac Corry, M.P. for Newry 1783 to the Union ; for Dundalk in Imperial Parliament ; for Newport 1806 ; appointed Commissioner of Revenue 1787 ; Chancellor of the Exchequer 1799.

To the first general Resolution they gave a negative, but did not divide; the rest passed quietly.

They cannot make battle. On Monday they will attempt something on the Irish Propositions, which Parnell was imprudent about; and odd enough the same subject was agitated in England, as appears by this day's packet.

Our session has been strangely fortunate. Have you met Monsieur de Marcellanges? ^a Post going out.

Yours sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. EDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Paris, March 22nd, 1787.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—A fit of illness, which has been sufficiently severe, but of which I must not complain, as it is the only one that I have had in France, prevented my answering your letter more immediately: I am now pretty well recovered again.

I have had, at last, the pleasure of seeing Monsieur de Marcellanges, and had a long conversation with him upon various subjects interesting to you in days of yore; I have since been twice at his lodging, but have not had the good luck to find him: he is little in Paris, seldom even in this neighbourhood, and when he comes

* Monsieur de Marcellanges, a French gentleman, who married Mademoiselle de Ligondes, sister of Mr. Beresford's first wife, and came afterwards as an *émigré* to England at the Revolution.

he is much at Versailles. He is a man rather of a melancholy manner, but pleasing. He was very intimate with Sir William and Lady Hamilton at Naples. He is much out of the whole style of our Paris society ; but I will contrive somehow to know more of him. He regretted much that he saw nothing of Mr. Clements when he was here.

I laughed heartily at your account of the debate on the Treaty, and collected from the newspapers that it was a very faithful account.

They are plaguing me in England upon an Irish point in the Treaty, on which it is utterly impossible for me to give satisfaction, according to their ideas, unless I act towards this Court in a manner of which I am incapable, because it would be an unfair return to all their fair proceedings. When the Treaty was negotiating, nobody would say, for in truth nobody then knew with certainty, whether it would be eligible and acceptable to open the linen market between France and Ireland. Under that uncertainty, I contrived to leave the arrangement expressed with some uncertainty. When it appeared that Ireland was likely to wish to have the market opened, I delivered a declaration that by Dutch duties we wished to mean only the Dutch hereditary duties. No answer was given to this till lately, when I was desired to press for a specific answer. That answer is fair and reasonable. The French Ministers say that they neither know the comparative nature of the linens, nor the nature of the Irish hereditary duties, but that they will not object for the present to our taking a reciprocal duty of 12 per cent., *ad valorem*. I have not the slightest doubt that

a 12 per cent., *ad valorem*, is the most advantageous for Ireland. It would give you the full market, clear of all doubts or disputes, and it is fair. I know that my friend Sir John Parnell talked big in opening the question about the advantage of excluding coarse linens; but he is too manly to mind an expression of that kind, and loves right sense too well to lose it for a point of etiquette. There is not a prospect of this country sending coarse linen to Ireland to the value of a dishclout, even if there were no duties: she does not make even the coarse linens that she consumes. Pray consult about all this with Mr. Orde, the Speaker, Sir John Parnell, and Fitz Gibbon. I cannot with any propriety urge the Dutch hereditary duties upon the French Ministers, even if our strict right were indisputable; for they might say that it is one of those cases which comes clearly under the reserve in the sixth article of the Treaty; but besides, it is disputable fairly, if they are disposed to dispute it, which I wish to avoid, by Sir John Parnell stating unreservedly that France, not comprehending our Dutch duties, proposes as more acceptable a duty of 12 per cent., *ad valorem*, which may be tried with safety and advantage for the present, and in the meantime that both Courts are taking informations to arrange it permanently to mutual satisfaction. The success of all this is easy and certain if it is well done; and so recommending it, I remain, my dear Beresford,

Very affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

BARON HAMILTON TO MR. BERESFORD.

Tralee, 23rd March, 1787.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I cannot deny to the feelings of friendship (which must ever interest me in what concerns you) the pleasure of communicating the satisfaction I have enjoyed in the society and conversation of my companion Mark.* If I were to mention the particulars of what I conceive about him, it might appear like flattery; I think he is almost everything you could wish him. And as you may suppose we have not altogether refrained from conversation upon *law* subjects, I can tell you that he seems not only to have a head, but a turn and a taste for those matters, and will, I am persuaded, qualify himself for any bar preferment very nearly as soon as you can wish to obtain it for him. The country is returning, I *believe*, into a state of quiet, and I hope the proceedings of the Circuit will have a satisfactory effect towards it.

Believe me, with true regard,

Your affectionate and faithful

GEO. HAMILTON.

* Marcus Beresford, the eldest son of the Right Hon. John Beresford and Annette de Ligondes; born 1764; called to the bar 1786; M.P. for Dungarvan 1783, 1790, 1797; appointed Counsel to Revenue Board 1789; married, 1791, Lady Frances Leeson, daughter of Joseph, Earl of Miltown; died 1797.

LORD HAWKESBURY TO MR. BERESFORD.

London, April 12th, 1787.

DEAR SIR,—By a letter I had the honour to receive yesterday from Mr. Fitz Gibbon, I learn that the new Navigation Law has passed both Houses of the Irish Parliament; and as it may be of use to you, in carrying it into execution, to be informed of all the steps that were taken here for the like purpose, I send you copies of all the papers that were issued by our Board of Customs, with an account of the only establishment that exists here for the execution of laws of this nature. These papers I asked for some time ago, intending them for you, though I have neglected sending them till now. As soon as you have determined what times it is thought proper to allow the ships of Ireland to come into port for the purpose of being registered, I shall be obliged to you if you will let me know.

I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my sincere acknowledgments for the active and friendly part you was so good as to take in promoting the passage of the Navigation Bill through your House of Commons, and I flatter myself that both kingdoms will experience many advantages from the completion of this measure.

Lady Hawkesbury desires me to present her best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Beresford; I beg leave to offer mine to Mrs. Beresford, and I am, with very sincere regard,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful, humble servant,

HAWKESBURY.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Rainham, July 22, 1787.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am this moment favoured with yours, expressing the obliging interest you take in what relates to me on all occasions. I was very near falling in with you in town, being on the point of setting out for it this week for medical advice; but being better, I hope to be able to attend our friends to Scotland next week, where our views are greatly enriched by the prospect of meeting the dear Barb—a most pleasant proof of her recovery. I hope you will have better success in your Florida claims than I had. Though I had taken out my grant, could prove I had paid for it, and had a map of the same, and of my poor brother Charles's lot, yet not able to prove that it was registered in the Province—I took leave of the Commissioners without giving them any further trouble.

When you repeat the offer of your services, I cannot omit mentioning to you, that having received, as you recollect, a more than polite note from Mr. Pitt on the subject of my long-promised rank in the peerage, before I left town I called upon him on the subject. You may imagine that our conversation was not long, as he had considered and answered the materials before, and you know I neither esteem a man who bores or is bored on such occasions. I requested him to renew his interest on the subject, and left it to him whether it were not as well if he recommended it to His Majesty as if I went into the closet myself. He seemed to think

the latter not essential, and, to tell you the truth, I liked it best, not only because I could not but feel extremely awkward in reminding the King of a promise so long due, but I had no dislike to have the stronger obligation to Mr. Pitt, which if it had not been the case, I had not preferred this mode.

Mr. Pitt received me with politeness, and I thought with frankness. After my having supported his measures, I cannot conceive that he will not warmly interest himself in the performance of the Royal word. I dined lately with Mr. Rose, but did not mention the subject.

I shall be highly obliged to you if you will renew this subject with Mr. Pitt: if I had not a real esteem for him, I would not apply to him or any man. Poor Courtney, I fear, is reduced to distressing circumstances. He has parted with his house in town, sold his furniture, and is living very retired with his family in Bath. We have delightful weather, and prospect of great abundance. The best wishes of all attend you.

Your obliged and affectionate servant,

TOWNSHEND.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. FOSTER.

Abbeville, 27th Sept., 1787.

MY DEAR FOSTER,—I wished to have seen you, and should have been very happy if you could have made this place the scene of meeting; I wanted to have informed you what passed with Mr. Pitt on the subject of

the Commercial Bill, which I must now do, as shortly as I can, in writing.

When I was going to London on my East Florida business, Orde sent to me, and informed me that he wished me to renew a conversation which he had held with Mr. Pitt on that subject, and to see what could be done. I asked him, Had he settled what it was that he wished to be done? he said not. I told him then, that if he would send to you, Parnell, and Fitz Gibbon, and determine on what was best to be done, and give me instructions, I would endeavour to do what was wished, or as much as I could, and would, at any rate, try the ground for him; I requested that, as I meant to stay only a few days, he would hold his consultation as soon as he could, and send me the result immediately. He promised me he would see you all on the Monday following, viz. 17th July. Very shortly after I went to London, I had an opportunity of starting the subject to Mr. Pitt and to Lord Hawkesbury, and finding them both favourably inclined, and knowing that every one was very soon about to leave town, I wrote to Orde, and requested him to be speedy, and to Fitz Gibbon, who I knew was in town, to urge Orde forward; it was, however, about the 10th of August you met, although I wrote again and again, and had promise upon promise of hearing in two days, &c.; and after you had met and given your ideas, it was the 24th before I could get a line; by that time every one except Pitt was gone to the country, and he would not answer for any one but himself; however, at his desire I drew up an extract of Orde's letter, stating what was wished, and

after he had considered it, we met and talked over the points, so far as his sudden opinion went, as he said.

I shall not trouble you with all that passed, but only state the principal points, which were six.

1st. The date from which the system of duties was taken up, viz. 17th May, 1782.

He said that an alteration in this would be attended with very great difficulty and clamour; that it went directly in point of duty to calico, on which the 6*d*. was considered as a prohibitory duty; that it went also to cloths, by obliging them to be entered as old instead of new drapery, and also to beer and ale; but he allowed that in beer and ale the duty was a mere countervailing duty, and conformable to the spirit of the Bill; but as to the other two, he foresaw great difficulties in an attempt to alter the period or give up the point.

2nd. The expression by which the trade to the East Indies is limited in the Bill.

He saw little difficulty in this, but he said it was taking a great deal of trouble to compliment a piece of bad bombastical nonsense.

3rd. The fourth Proposition.

He confessed that the case was now very much altered as to this point, and had hopes that a proper declaratory Resolution, together with the inserting the usual clause in all their future Navigation Laws, viz. "that those who did not comply with their Regulations should not enjoy the advantages given by them," might answer; but he could give no decided opinion without knowing the sentiments of others.

4th. The prohibition laid on the export of raw mate-

rials from England, while Ireland was free to export them to England.

He said that, however unreasonable this might be, he never could get over it, and that we must balance it by the import of our linen duty free, and must consider yarn as a manufacture.

5th. The appropriation of the surplus of the Hereditary Revenue in aid of the expenses of the empire.

As to this, he did not know what to say ; it was the bait held out to induce people to support the system ; that something was necessary ; perhaps this mode was not the best ; that if Ireland would give good ground to Ministers to stand on by any voluntary act of hers, such as offering to pay certain expenses of army, or supplying anything for the use of the navy, or, in short, anything which looked like assisting England, perhaps any scheme of this kind, which held out the inclination of Ireland to assist England, might do.

6th. The obligation to secure the collection of the Hereditary Duties.

He said this was incidental to the former, and must stand or fall with it.

I endeavoured to show him it was not, and think I had some weight with him ; and, on the whole, I am not without good hopes that he may be induced to give up these two points, if any reasonable pretext can be afforded him to hold out to people. He promised me to consider the whole fully, and to consult with others, so as to be able to come to a determination in time, if Orde chooses it ; and I wrote to Orde, stating all this and requesting him to go on. I should be glad to

know what you think on the whole, or if you can suggest to me anything more which I can do.

I am, my dear Foster, very sincerely yours,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. FOSTER TO MR. BERESFORD.

Collen, Oct. 5th, 1787.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I am much obliged by your letter, and do truly think more could not have been done. Had I known that Orde consulted me at your desire, or that you were to have spoken on the subject in England, you should not have waited for my sentiments; they should have been communicated to you instantly, and without reserve. My opinion always was that it was the best policy to keep the commercial subject by itself, and to leave the imperial concerns to the general unexplained but well-understood situation in which they are. If Irish Government fails at any day to carry them, it fails to be a Government—it cannot carry establishments, army, taxes, revenue, or any subject of moment.

I mean shortly to be in town, and if you be at Abbeville, and can give me a bed, I will dine and sleep there on my return.

Believe me, with truth, my dear Beresford, your very sincere and affectionate

J. FOSTER.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Cork Street, Oct. 5th, 1787.

MY DEAR SIR,—I consider myself too much indebted to you for what has passed not to endeavour to express it on this and on every other occasion. Thinking, as I was advised to go for my health to Buxton, and as I also wished to see my regiment at Lincoln, that these things might interfere with the objects you have so affectionately assisted, I determined for town, desired to see Mr. Pitt, had an early answer, and a very concise and sincere interview. He told me that I should hear from him as soon as possible, when His Majesty's intentions would be carried into execution. I told him that I came up as early as possible on what you had said, but that I wished to wait his convenience.

This day he told me the King was ready to carry it into execution immediately, so to-morrow I propose to kiss hands, there being no drawing-room till the King's Accession; Lady Townshend must defer it till then. We shall leave town immediately for Rainham. I must add that Mr. Pitt's attention has been equally polite and friendly on this occasion. To you, my worthy friend, I shall say no more, for you would not wish me to express all that I feel.

Lord Earlsfort and J. Lees will rejoice on this occasion, and many friends. Pray inform Sir William of it. I expect George and my son Charles at Rainham.

It rather looks like peace. The Duke of Brunswick has prevented one side of Amsterdam from being inundated. It was a folly to suppose a French army would

march on and leave Bois le Duc, Breda, and Bergen-op-Zoom, behind them.

The Duke of Dorset returns to Paris to-morrow. The French Minister was at Court to-day. Mr. Grenville just chosen Speaker. Our House adjourned for a fortnight. The King not so well. Great confusion and uncertainty of what is to happen in politics.

Excuse this scrawl—in a hurry. Adieu. Our love to the Barb.

Ever your obliged and affectionate servant,

TOWNSHEND.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Rainham, Oct. 21st, 1787.

MY DEAR SIR,—Be assured that I bore my share in the joy of this family upon the event in yours, on which I beg to congratulate you. This news reached us just as I returned from Norwich, to which I have made several jaunts to form some measure against our numerous gangs of poachers, who have plundered and intimidated our landed gentry for some time past. I have got a good subscription upon an excellent plan. You know that we must have ruffians in all countries, and the sooner suppressed the better. One must have some pursuit, and having no employment at present, I have set about this, in which the principal nobility and men of property have concurred, notwithstanding the allurements to Parliament, and splendid preparations—at one of which (Mr. Coke's) the Prince of Wales and the

Duke of Bedford are expected. Where the multitude is to be housed, I know not. Blue and buff is the signal, but I hope I shall be admissible in the Prince's uniform. It is pretty clear, I believe, that Mr. Coke will stand for this county. Sir Edward Astley uncertain. Lord Petre recommends a candidate at Thetford, as likely to turn out one of the Duke of Grafton's Members. I will not tire you with more provincial intelligence, but a more interesting subject. Our friend Barré left us a week ago with Sir John Jervis.* He has not looked so well, nor been so well, I believe, for several years. I am much concerned for the state of poor Lord Chatham's^b health. How far it may affect your Chief-Governor's situation in Ireland I know not. I see and am sorry for my poor old friend Lord Nugent, who took much pains to postpone his dissolution. I wish that we were nearer. My best wishes to all friends.

Your most obliged and affectionate friend,

TOWNSHEND.

* Sir John Jervis, K.B., second son of the Rev. Twynfen Jervis and Elizabeth Parker; born 1734; M.P. for Launceston 1783; for Yarmouth 1784; for Wycomb 1790; defeated the Spanish Fleet 1797, and then created Earl of St. Vincent; appointed First Lord of the Admiralty 1801 to 1804; married, 1783, Martha, daughter of Right Hon. Thomas Parker; died 1823.

^b John Pitt, second Earl of Chatham, son of the great Lord Chatham and Lady Hester Grenville; brother of Mr. Pitt; born 1755; succeeded 1778; appointed First Lord of the Admiralty 1788 to 1794; President of Council 1796 to 1801; Master-General of Ordnance 1801 to 1806; again 1807 to 1810; commanded at Walcheren 1809; Governor of Gibraltar 1820; married, 1783, the Hon. Mary Townshend, daughter of Thomas, first Lord Sydney; died 1835.

MR. WINDER^a TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, Oct. 23rd, 1787, 4 o'clock, p.m.

MY DEAR SIR,—I think it necessary to inform you, and that by express, that the Duke of Rutland lies ill of a bilious fever; old Doctor Quinn says, “in a most dangerous, and, he thinks, hopeless way.”^b

Believe me, I feel the sincerest concern in communicating so very melancholy an account, as I have, *entre nous*, the best authority for fearing the worst.

Yours ever,

THOS. WINDER.

^a Thomas Winder, Secretary to the Revenue Board.

^b The Duke of Rutland died next day.

END OF VOL. I.

THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
RIGHT HON. JOHN BERESFORD,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE LAST THIRTY YEARS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT;

SELECTED FROM HIS ORIGINAL PAPERS, AND EDITED,

WITH NOTES, BY HIS GRANDSON,

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM BERESFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

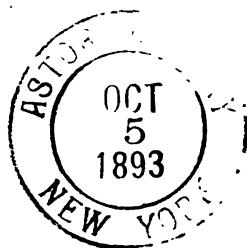
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ERRATUM.

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THE
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BERESFORD.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD TO MR. GEORGE PONSONBY.

April 9th, 1789.

DEAR PONSONBY,—Having this day learned that you are no longer in office,* from the great obligation which your conduct towards me on my first appointment, and your subsequent kindness, when my appointment was attacked in Parliament, has laid me under, I feel my present situation very embarrassing. As I am already in the office, it is probable that if the vacancy is filled up I shall succeed to your situation.

Give me leave to assure you that I shall feel pleasure in making way for you to reassume your former situation if ever it should suit you to come into that department again, and I am now ready to adopt any other line of conduct with respect to the arrangement of the office which you may suggest to be the most expressive of the respect and regard with which

I am yours sincerely,

M. BERESFORD.

My horse fell with me yesterday, and, being confined

* Mr. Ponsonby was First Counsel to the Revenue, and was succeeded, 1789, by Mr. Marcus Beresford.

to the house, I am prevented from waiting on you in person.

MR. GEORGE PONSONBY TO MR. MARCUS BERESFORD.

Thursday night, 9th April, 1789.

DEAR BERESFORD,—I am very sorry for the accident which has deprived me of the pleasure of seeing you, and much obliged to you for what you are so good as to say in your letter with respect to me and my official situation. As to my suggesting any line of conduct to be pursued by you relative to the vacancy which my dismissal occasions, I cannot think myself by any means entitled to do so, nor can I prevail upon myself to say anything to you upon that subject.

Your conduct will, I am sure, be better regulated by your own judgment than by mine. It gives me great pleasure to reflect that I have been of service to you, and I shall always be happy to hear of any event which you shall consider as agreeable or advantageous.

I am, with great respect, yours, &c.,

G. PONSONBY.

LORD HAWKESBURY TO MR. BERESFORD.

London, Feb. 10th, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favour of the 3rd, I hope you have received my answer to your former letter. I have conveyed to Mr. Pitt my sentiments on the Pro-

positions respecting the Corn Trade which you have sent me. I trust that he will transmit to you his sentiments on this subject without delay. I will urge him to it all I can; but on this side the water we are forced to proceed in this business with the greatest caution. There is no point of which our country gentlemen are so jealous as the interference of Government in the Corn Trade. I don't suppose that Mr. Pitt will venture to pledge himself to anything, and yet I think that we may by discreet management persuade them to open the Corn Trade between the two countries on some reasonable plan, at least more than it is at present. I am afraid, however, that they will insist that barley and malt should be included in any regulation that shall be made; barley is the only article of grain of which this country produces at present more than it consumes, and the export of it of course requires encouragement more than any other.

I am glad to hear that you had so much success in your two first divisions. I hope that, as Lord Shannon appears to stand aloof, he may at last join you; his support would make Government perfectly secure. I am sure that the Marquis of Buckingham ought to be much obliged to you for your support of him. All this family desire their best compliments to you and yours. I am, with the sincerest regard,

My dear Sir, your faithful humble servant,

HAWKESBURY.

MR. WINDHAM TO MR. BERESFORD.

Hill Street, Aug. 12th, 1791.

DEAR SIR,—You will permit me, I am sure, to trouble you with an application, of which the purpose is to procure payment of a demand the justice or the propriety of which is not, I apprehend, disputed. In 1788 an order was sent to Mr. Lukin, a considerable iron-founder in Blackfriars, to prepare a lantern of a new construction for the Light House of the hill of Howth. In the February following, the work was sent over, and the bill, to the amount of 534*l.*, was made out. No objection was made to the reasonableness of the demand, but the money has never been forthcoming. As Mr. Lukin is a very modest and worthy man, and one with whom I have a sort of circuitous connection, I have taken upon me to trouble you in his behalf; I have ventured to promise him, that, if the affair was under your department, you would see that he should have what was his due.

London is, as you may suppose, pretty much a desert at this time, so that one might pass some days without hearing any news, even if there were any to be heard. We are continuing our armament with great magnanimity, but against what enemy* no one knows.

Believe me your very faithful and obedient servant,

W. WINDHAM.

* Mr. Windham seems in 1791 to have regarded the proceedings of the French republicans as comparatively innocent and peaceable, and totally opposed to the view which he took of them in his later career, when he evinced the most warlike disposition towards them.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK TO MR. BERESFORD.

South Audley Street, March 7th, 1792.

SIR,—You do me justice in believing that there is no trouble which I would not willingly meet to show my respect for Mr. Flood,^a or to gratify the wishes of his relations.

The subject which you mention is of that kind that it is not likely that I should have had any communications concerning it. Indeed I never had any, and the whole which I know of it is from a recollection of what was told to me by a Mr. Brodrick, who lived at Birchfield, in the neighbourhood of Farnley, during a few weeks which I passed in that country.

His account was that Miss Flood and Jocelyn were born in wedlock, but that Henry was not. I believe, that from the hour in which I heard it, this is the first time of my mentioning it; nor should I have mentioned it now, if it had not been desired by you that I would say if I had heard anything as to general reports upon the subject.

I hope Lady Frances is well, and wish to offer to her an expression of my best good wishes.

I am, Sir, with great regard, your most obedient and faithful servant,

W. EBOR.^b

^a After Mr. Flood's death his heir-at-law called in question the disposition which he had made of some family property, on the plea that Mr. Flood had been born before the marriage of Chief Justice Flood to his wife. Mr. Beresford took much trouble to uphold the legitimacy of his brother-in-law, and to defend the will. The case, however, never came into Court.

^b William Markham, Archbishop of York; born 1719; Prebendary of Durham 1759; Dean of Rochester 1763; Dean of

LORD BRISTOL TO MR. BERESFORD.

St. James's Square, 16th May, 1792.

SIR,—I cannot help recurring to our church at Ballykelly,* for which you have been so generous and zealous an advocate.

We have now a very competent sum subscribed both for steeple and spire, but unless these sums are called in and lodged at a banker's, death may deprive us of some of them, and caprice of others.

I propose to you to lodge all the money at Alexander's and Bond's in Derry, subject to your draft on them; and that Mr. John Mitchel, who will contract for the whole, shall receive his payment for the church in three gales. One-third beforehand, one-third when the church is roofed, one-third when the churchwardens shall certify it fit for Divine Service; next year we can divide the steeple and spire in the same manner, if you approve it.

Would you choose that I should send you drafts upon those persons who have subscribed to me as well as you? I think it will save you trouble, and simplify our proceedings.

Lord Tyrone	.	.	.	£40
Mr. Conolly.	.	.	.	50
Mr. C. McCausland	.	.	.	30
Mr. Dom. McCausland	.	.	.	20
Mr. Gust. Hamilton	.	.	.	30

Christ Church 1767; consecrated Bishop of Chester 1771; translated to York 1777; married Sarah Goddard; died 1807.

* Ballykelly, the parish church in the county of Derry, near Walworth, the seat of Mr. Beresford.

Mr. Con. McCausland, Jun.	. 10
The Parish you will manage	.
Jack Stirling	. . . 10
	<hr/>
	190
Society	. . . 100
Company	. . . 100
Lord B.	. . . 100
Mr. Beresford	. . .

Remember, Mitchel must build at six shillings per perch, considering the proximity of stone and lime.

I am now eight weeks in bed with the gout, and have nothing to do but to build steeples and churches, and other castles in the air ; but ever, with great esteem,

Your faithful humble servant,

BRISTOL.*

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Hague, July 3rd, 1792.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I write a few lines, partly to show that I am a better correspondent than you, but chiefly to inquire after your erysipelas ; and, above all, to ask after your little girl, and whether she has been materially benefited by her journey to Lisbon.

We continue well here ; and Lady Auckland, so far as the bustles of a crowded society and of our situation

* Frederick Hervey, fourth Earl of Bristol, third son of John, Lord Hervey, and Mary Lepell ; born 1730 ; consecrated Bishop of Cloyne 1767 ; Bishop of Derry 1768 ; succeeded his brother as Earl 1779 ; married Elizabeth Davers, daughter of Sir Jermyn Davers ; died 1802.

will allow, is constantly occupied by the education of our children ; and the house is so crowded with writing-masters, music-masters, drawing-masters, exercising-sergeants, dancing-masters, &c., that it looks quite like an academy. Eleanor* is grown as tall as her mother, and begins to be an able assistant in the management of the others. We should much like to be quietly settled at Beckenham, but in the meantime we are amused, and fully occupied, and not discontented ; and only sorry that life slips away so rapidly.

The great news from the East Indies, which I forwarded from this place, will have arrived, I suppose, to-day at Whitehall. It is very important ; and England emerges gloriously from the only embarrassment which affected her situation internally or externally. She is now on the pinnacle of prosperity ; I hope that she will have the wisdom to keep herself there. Her old rival presents a curious contrast ; and affords an excellent moral lesson to reformers and democrats of every description : that great country, which I saw so rich, so pleasant, so happy and so powerful in the years 1786 and 1787, is now without revenue, without credit, without religion, without morals, without subordination, and even without decency or common sense ; but presenting the deplorable picture of a people unprincipled, mad, and undone. Where they are to end I cannot guess ; their internal distractions are increasing, and in less than a month the combined armies marching against them will be assembled in full force on their frontiers ;

* Eleanor Eden, afterwards Countess of Buckinghamshire.

and this owing to the Revolution, which those fools of the reforming clubs in England and Ireland have been puffing as a model of human wisdom. God help them all!

I fear that I shall never see Ireland again; for there are few human considerations that will tempt me any more to leave England; and yet (putting Abbeville out of the question, which would also be an inducement,) I really would give much to see Carlisle Bridge, and the wall, and the new streets, &c., in Dublin.

When I left England the strongest assurances were given to me that I should be again re-established at Beckenham in the course of the month of August, but I did not build so entirely on these assurances, as to be able to tell you that I shall be able to receive you at Beckenham in September. It will not, however, be my fault if I cannot; and the place is kept in readiness in all respects to receive us at twenty-four hours' notice. We shall again hear from one another before you think of leaving Buxton.

I never understood our friend Lord Fitz Gibbon's policy, or motives, in rejecting the Bill, to prevent combinations. The Bill might have had its faults, but Lord Fitz Gibbon was so little addicted to prancing, that I suppose he had some meaning beyond what I penetrated. Remember me to him and to Lees. Cooke, on becoming a great man, laid me aside, but perhaps will some day take me up again. Our love to Mrs. Beresford.

Believe me, very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

communicate freely with me. Mrs. Davis's account is, that Mr. Flood lived in a retired manner in the Castle of Donnybrook, and did not introduce his wife to any person from pride, his income being too small to enable him to have intercourse on equal terms with persons of his rank. Such, she says, was the conversation at Donnybrook very long before the birth of Jocelyn; and she says many persons disliked both Mr. and Mrs. Flood on account of their pride and reserve. Such evidence, coming from respectable persons, would, I think, completely account for and overthrow their whole case on the other side, as it might show how consistently with marriage a reputation of illicit cohabitation might arise. Their case will go to circumstantial proof of marriage shortly before the birth of Jocelyn, and, though I am myself persuaded to the contrary, I think they will support it by formidable evidence. Mrs. Davis also says Mr. Henry Blacker, Dorset Street, Dublin, Thomas Twigg, of Merrion Square, Mrs. Minchin, of Frederick Street, the Chancellor's aunt, and Mrs. Tickle, who lived a few years ago in Stephen's Green, ought to be resorted to. If you have any advice or directions to give me I shall receive any letter directed to Wicklow during the assizes.

Yours truly,

PETER BURROWES.

LORD FITZGIBBON TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, May 14th, 1793.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I presume you have seen the proceedings of the Catholic Convention at their breaking up. If you have not, be it known that they finished their session by insulting, so far as they could, the two Houses of Parliament. They voted 500*l.* to Mr. Simon Butler,* to pay the fine imposed upon him by the House of Lords, and declared their resolution to concur in reforming the House of Commons. They also voted 1500*l.* to Mr. Tone, and 1000*l.* to Todd Jones for their services in working for a separation from Great Britain. The Defenders are again in force in the county of Meath; within three days they have robbed six or seven houses of arms, and the night before the last attacked Baron Dillon to the number of five hundred at the least, and carried off all the arms which were in his possession. I have good reason to believe that Messrs. Keogh, Dowling, and Co. are preparing for another campaign, and mean, whenever the Parliament is prorogued, to take the field; I have some hope that we shall be able to prove Mr. Keogh to have been the author of "Common Sense."

I have had a good deal of conversation with the Speaker upon the subjects of East and West Indies. He is very much pleased with the prospect of a proper explanation of the Navigation Act, but rides his hobby as

* The Hon. Simon Butler, third son of Edmond, tenth Viscount Mountgarrett, and Charlotte Bradstreet; born 1749; married, 1795, Miss Lynch; died 1797.

to the East Indies as hard as ever. He says that a warehouse in Ireland will be absolutely necessary to give content here; old Pery holds the same language; and I am told Mr. Grattan harks in with him. This, however, I have only from report, as you know that I have no intercourse or communication with him. Surely the East India Company ought not to stickle for an object which seems to be so very immaterial to them, if by yielding it they can secure the ratification of their monopoly by the Irish Parliament. An attempt has been made to resist a ballot under the Militia Act, in the Queen's County, and the County of Carlow. I am told it has originated with the United Irishmen.

Yours always truly, my dear Beresford,

FITZGIBBON.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Beckenham, Sept. 2nd, 1793.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have to thank you for yours of the 22nd July; I should have answered it more immediately if I had had anything else to do; but I have passed the last two months in all the luxury of perfect idleness, and my whole mind has been absorbed in the complacency of so novel a state. I have arranged my library and manuscripts, and have placed the Hague furniture in the new rooms of Beckenham; and I have planned and executed new works to a considerable extent; and I ride every morning with the girls (who, by the by, and without partiality, are turning out well),

and I drive afterwards in a phaeton, and I have placed my boys at school preparatory to Eton, and about seven miles distant from this place. And we have had a constant succession and relays of company. I tell you all this in answer to your question "what I am doing." What I am hereafter to do is not so easy to be said: I know nothing about it, and I ask no questions; for the present I still have possession of my embassy, and I have no idea that when it ceases I shall long be entirely out of office; but at all events, I am contented and happy so far as my personal circumstances are concerned; I have at different times had as much official responsibility as I desire to have; and as to income, I think that I can in some degree proportion my system and expenses to it. In the meantime I have the pleasure to live in perfect cordiality and friendship with Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and the Chancellor.

And now for you; I am pleased with the manner in which you write about yourself and your situation; but you are not sufficiently explicit about the health of Mrs. Beresford, and of your family. Give us a list of your whole progeny, and of their ages and life, character and behaviour.

As to Ireland, it is too large a subject for me to enter upon it, after having been up all night, and after having written all day. I am not sufficiently informed to know the ground, necessity, consistency, or expediency of all the late concessions; but I am willing to believe that if the continental war ends well, Ireland will be kept in that order and *correction* which are essential to her own happiness; and if it should not end well, I fear

that all civil governments and all mankind will be involved in one general darkness and misery. Our prospects of ending well are at this moment fair and promising; at all events it must be confessed that the Irish Government is made a perilous and difficult task for Lord Westmoreland's successor.

Our love to Mrs. Beresford. Believe me, my dear Beresford, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

LORD BRISTOL TO MR. BERESFORD.

Shaffausen, 3rd Sept., 1793.

SIR,—I send you Mr. Mitchel's estimate, which is not as moderate as I could wish, but your compliance may possibly induce him to execute the work in the ablest manner; by not employing an architect to supervise, you will save near 60*l.*, which may be employed in beautifying the steeple and spire, which I hope you will be good enough to make as beautiful as possible.

As to the church, I entreat you not to make it large; the increase of our congregation is too problematical, and a small one in a large church is as uncomfortable as it is ridiculous: let it decorate the country if it cannot receive it, and at least be a monument and an example to posterity how well the squire and the bishop could draw together.

As to the execution, let me beg of you to have all the freestone for the spire and the coins of the steeple quarried this year, that they may be hardened for use in the course of the next; this will be of great use to us.

I have proposed to your nephew and my friend James Jones to build a steeple and a spire at Tamlat; keep my council, I beseech you, but give him a jog privately without naming me; if we can employ the idle, they will make no riots, and if we can fill their bellies, they will no more open their mouths.

With the greatest regard, yours,

BRISTOL.

LORD BRISTOL TO MR. BERESFORD.

From the St. Gothard en Suisse, 7th Sept., 1798.

SIR,—Though I troubled you so lately, yet I cannot forbear transmitting the plan and elevation of our church at Ballykelly, lest Mr. Shanahan should not have provided you with one. If your pew is made to project from the church, I propose that, for uniformity sake, that of the rector should do the same, especially as most rectors are likely to have as numerous a family as the 'squire—few 'squires as prolific as yourself, and still fewer who so well deserve to be multiplied. I entreat you to have the freestone for the spire quarried this year, and to prefer that of Fahanvale, as it takes the paint admirably well, witness my gate at Down Hill; and also as the carriage by water will save us at least one-half of the expense; which saving may contribute to raise our steeple and spire, and make it the visible as well as the established church.

In this country, the poorest parish church has steeple and spire, but then the latter, in this country of wood, is

built of timber and covered with slate: but friend Shanahan is a mere stone-cutter, and is as much afraid of a tree as a man going to be hanged; he is quite out of his depth when one talks of timber; yet the roof of Ballyscullin House is an exception, and does him infinite honour. Don't forget to give a flap to James Jones, but without betraying me. I would fain make the county of Derry look like a gentleman, though so few condescend to live in it; and nothing can give it that air better than a strutting steeple and spire, with its arms akimbo, like our church of Ballykelly.

Believe me, Sir, with the truest respect, your faithful,
humble servant,

BRISTOL.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Beckenham, Nov. 17th, 1793.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I this day received yours of the 11th. The death of poor Lady Westmoreland* has been much lamented in the circle of our society and communications; it will be a severe loss to her children: she was certainly an excellent woman, and amidst her affluence, splendour, and youth and beauty, preserved an unsullied character in these dangerous and malignant times. From her death, and from that of the Duke of Rutland, it appears that Viceroyalty is as mortal as any other of our short-lived functions.

The general state of Ireland is, I think, even by your

* Sarah Child, Lady Westmoreland, married John, tenth Earl of Westmoreland 1782; died 1793.

account, and you are not apt to be sanguine, considerably mended. I agree with you, however, that the Irish will go to the devil as decidedly and as rapidly as the French are doing if the present war should take a calamitous turn; I trust, however, that this will not be the case. It must be confessed that the campaign has had a lame and impotent conclusion. But when we recollect that in February last Dumourier's army was within a few miles of the Hague, and Custine's in Germany, and that our armies are now on the frontiers of France, both in Flanders and in the Mediterranean, we have, upon the whole, no reason to complain. And if we can through the winter maintain our barrier against the Jacobin multitudes, it is a reasonable speculation that they will devour and destroy each other, because they will have nothing else to devour and destroy. There are several symptoms in favour of this hope; would to God that there were more!

So far as I can form a sudden and rough judgment on the point which regards your situation, I incline to think, for many obvious reasons, that you would act wisely in remaining at the head of the Revenue Board, with an honorary seat at the Treasury. You say nothing of Mrs. Beresford and your children; we willingly infer from your silence that "all is well."

You desire me to tell you about myself; it is not difficult: I never stir from this place, which we are improving in many respects, and which is become a family possession; it is now mine, at least till 1854—long enough as the world goes! We shall remain here till the middle of January, when we settle for the session in

Old Palace Yard, in the house of Sir George Jackson, which I lately bought. As to other views, I do not in my conscience know that I have any. I propose very soon to resign my embassy; my income will then be far below the sort of establishment which I am obliged to keep; but there is no embarrassment in my circumstances, and if England is not destroyed by the Jacobin volcanoes (which I trust will not happen), my family is sufficiently secured by the peerage. I therefore, holding myself ready to serve if required, ask for nothing, and speculate on nothing; I do not mean even to accept the ambassador's pension, to which I have so fair a claim. In the meantime, I am on a footing of perfect cordiality and friendship with His Majesty's principal Ministers; I sometimes see them here and I often hear from them. "*Submitto divis cætera.*"

In other respects, we have abundance of society, and are somehow always busy. Our eldest daughters are grown into well-looking young women. They and their mother ride with me every day. We are all in good health, which is the best of all things.

No more at present. Believe me, my dear Beresford, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND^a TO MR. BERESFORD.

Bourbon en Roussillon, December 9th, 1793.

DEAR SIR,—I return you many thanks for your letter of the 17th June, which I received here only yesterday;

Hugh Percy, second Duke of Northumberland, son of Hugh,

and for your kind present, of which I trust the Duchess has reaped the benefit at Lisbon; and I beg that you will rest assured that I am properly sensible of your friendship and attention.

You will, perhaps, be surprised to receive a letter from me dated from here, but I must inform you that, finding myself very well, and a body of Portuguese troops being ordered to join the Spanish army, I obtained His Majesty's permission to accompany them, being desirous of seeing the Spanish troops, and likewise having a curiosity to observe the method of carrying on the operations of a campaign in a mountainous country—an opportunity of which I might, perhaps, never again have. We are here in the midst of the Pyrenean mountains, and I own I find it very cold work keeping the field at this season of the year. We have already beaten both their right and their left wings in the course of about twelve days, notwithstanding that the enemy's army is about double our numbers. We have taken in this time several batteries from them, together with forty pieces of artillery, all of them situated upon spots that appeared inaccessible to anything but goats. The Spaniards, however, attack these with fixed bayonets, regardless of either their cannon or grape-shot. Indeed, I must do them the justice to say, that the Spaniards are as intrepid and gallant troops as ever I saw in my life. Permit me to beg that you will make my best respects first Duke, and Lady Elizabeth Percy, Baroness Percy, daughter of Algernon, Duke of Somerset, a General in the army and Colonel of the Horse Guards (Blues); married, first, 1764, Lady Ann Stuart, daughter of John, third Earl of Bute; secondly, 1779, Frances Burrell; died 1817.

acceptable to Mrs. and Miss Beresford; and that you will believe me to be, with great esteem,

Your ever faithful servant,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Beckenham, Dec. 31st, 1793.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I understand that Mr. (Sylvester) Douglas^a has accepted the Secretaryship. Lady Catherine is peculiarly connected in friendship with Lady Auckland, and we cannot too strongly recommend them both to Mrs. Beresford and to you. He will set out on Monday next. She must previously be brought to bed. I shall see him next Saturday, and will write again to you next week. Many happy new years to you and to yours.

Believe me ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, Feb. 1st, 1794.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I am at present confined to my house, in consequence of the sudden death of my

^a The Right Hon. Sylvester Douglas, son of John Douglas and Catherine Gordon; born 1743; bred to the law; M.P. for Fowey 1795; for Midhurst 1796; for Plympton 1801; for Has-

excellent mother: I, therefore, have seen nobody that knows anything, and so far as news may be interesting to you, I can do no more than refer you to the newspapers.

I had already twice seen the Commandeur de Marcellanges; and our friend Rose was so good as to come to my house to meet him. Except that civilities are acceptable to all, and peculiarly so to the unfortunate, I can be of no use to M. de Marcellanges. He will go in a few days to join Lord Moira,* who promises to be kind to him; and I will give him a letter to Lord Moira, merely to certify that I knew him at Paris in the happy days of France, and that I saw him much respected in the first and best societies. I asked if I could be of use to him in regard to money matters. He answered, with expressions of the strongest gratitude to you and to Mr. Clements, that he was amply supported by your bounty, and was only solicitous not to abuse it. He spoke in terms of high admiration of

tings 1802; created Baron Glenbervie (Ireland) 1800; appointed, 1794, Chief Secretary, Ireland; 1795, Commissioner of the Board of Control, to 1806; 1797, Lord of the Treasury, to 1800; 1801, Joint Paymaster-General, to 1803; 1803, Surveyor-General of Woods and Forests; 1810, First Commissioner, to 1814; married, 1789, the Hon. Catherine North, daughter of Frederick, Lord North, afterwards Earl of Guildford; died 1823.

* Francis Rawdon, second Earl of Moira, son of John, first Earl, and Elizabeth, Baroness Hungerford and Hastings; born 1754; succeeded his father 1793; and his mother 1808; M.P. for Randalstown 1781; created Baron Rawdon in Great Britain 1783; Marquis of Hastings 1816; appointed Master-General of Ordnance 1806; Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India 1812; Governor of Malta 1824; married, 1804, Flora, Countess of Loudon; died 1826.

some letters from Mrs. Beresford, which he said were expressed with the utmost elegance and sensibility.

Let me know how you are going on in Ireland, both in and out of Parliament. I have no doubt that we shall do well in the great line of politics, provided that we can make head successfully against the nation of cannibals towards French Flanders, and upon the Rhine.

Ever yours sincerely and affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD TO MR. BERESFORD.

Merrion Square, April 28th, 1794.

DEAR FATHER,—I went to Drogheda on Saturday se'night, to attend the trial of Thorn, and proceeded afterwards to Lifford. I only got to town last night; and the business which I am about to mention to you has kept me on foot for the whole of this day, and has circumscribed my time so much that I can scarcely write more than a few lines before the post goes out.

A man of the name of Jackson, who has resided for some time at Paris, came over here to correspond with the United Irishmen and Jacobins of this country, and to plan an invasion. He was to agree with some one of them to go over to Paris and confer with the Government there, and give them an exact account of the state of this kingdom. They were to go through England to Hull, thence to Hamburgh, and so find their way to Paris. He has had frequent interviews with Hamilton

Rowan^a in gaol, to concert who was to be the ambassador to Paris. Tone^b was fixed on and spoken to; he declined it. Dr. Reynolds was next applied to, and he also refused. Tone was then a second time spoken to; and advantageous offers having been made to him, he consented to go. He would have sailed yesterday if he had not required money to settle his wife and family during his absence, and that delayed him. This morning Mr. Jackson was arrested on a charge of high treason, in bed at an hotel. Such was his imprudence that he left all his papers on the table by his bedside; they were secured at the moment of his arrest, and furnish most incontrovertible evidence of his guilt. It seems that he was known to the Ministry in England, and intelligence was sent over here to Government of his objects in coming to this country. They contrived that Dawes, the messenger, should travel from London in the same coach with him; and he has been continually watched since his arrival here. Among his papers are several notes from Tone and Rowan, which, though not direct evidence of their guilt, are strong circumstances

^a Archibald Hamilton Rowan, son of Gawen Hamilton, of Killyleagh, and Jane, the daughter and heiress of Mr. Rowan; born 1751; married, 1781, Sarah Dawson; died 1805.

^b Theobald Wolfe Tone, son of a coachmaker in Dublin; educated at Trinity College, Dublin; studied at the Temple; called to the Irish bar 1789; married Miss Witherington; went to America 1795. He did not remain there long, but proceeded to France; joined the expedition which attempted the invasion of Ireland in Bantry Bay; and accompanied the expedition, in 1798, which sailed from Brest, and was defeated off Lough Swilly by Sir J. B. Warren. Tone was taken prisoner, tried, and condemned. He committed suicide in prison.

of corroboration. Government are determined to hang Rowan, if possible, but have not yet shown any suspicion of any person here being concerned in the plot, in order to lull them into security. No person knows as much as I now tell you, except Lord Westmoreland,^a the Attorney-General, and Sackville Hamilton. The cause of Jackson's arrest is public; but that Tone, Reynolds,^b and Rowan have any hand in the business is not surmised. There is a fourth person concerned, whose name they did not communicate to me, and of course I did not ask, whom they hope will give evidence against them. If they should not be able to persuade him, they wish me to see Tone, and to endeavour to prevail on him. They will save him, and enable him to retire and live elsewhere. The prospect of getting the evidence through the channel which they desire has changed so often that I have been obliged to go to them two or three different times to receive directions how I am to act. I found some difficulty in discovering where Tone resided. I have just time to tell you thus much of this extraordinary business.

Yours, ever affectionate and dutiful,

M. BERESFORD.

^a John Fane, tenth Earl of Westmoreland, son of John, ninth Earl, and Augusta Bertie; born 1759; succeeded his father 1774; appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1789 to 1795; Lord Privy Seal 1798 to 1806; again 1807 to 1827; married first, 1782, Sarah Child; secondly, 1800, Jane Saunders; died 1841.

^b Reynolds went to America, and died there.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD TO MR. BERESFORD.

May 1st, 1794.

DEAR FATHER,—Tone called on Peter Burrowes, and having told him that he suspected that I wished to speak to him relative to other business than that on which I pretended to him, requested Burrowes to converse with me. He avowed to Burrowes that he had had two conversations with Jackson of a very criminal nature; that Jackson had pressed him upon the state of his circumstances, and had proposed to him to go to France, but that he had at once rejected that. He acknowledged that the object of several of his party had been to procure an invasion; but that he was positive there could be no evidence against him so as to affect his life, but he was well aware there was enough to blast his character. Under these circumstances, he made a proposal to Burrowes, which clearly shows the impression on his mind—that he wishes to quit Ireland, and migrate to America, under the imputation even of a traitor; that he hoped the Government would allow Hamilton Rowan should do so likewise. He wished to make reparation for his past conduct by giving such information to Government as might be useful, provided he was not called on to accuse Rowan, which no inducement could make him do, and he did not wish to appear as a witness in a public court. I desired Burrowes to hint to him that I thought I should be able to procure not only his pardon, but also the means of transporting himself to any part of the British settlements abroad, or to America, if he would consent to make a full disclosure

of all he knew relative to these transactions, though I was not authorised to make such a proposal; that, as to naming any particular person as the object of prosecution, or consenting to exempt any one, I could hardly think that Government would consent to that. I was sure that they would not be spurred on by resentment to any particular person, or influenced by partiality in their favour, but required a general communication of Mr. Jackson's proceedings so far as he knew. I am to see Burrowes again to-morrow morning, as Tone is to be with him this evening. The fourth person present at the conversations between Jackson, Reynolds, and Tone, I find, from some circumstances which occurred during my communications with Sackville Hamilton and Wolfe, and from suspicions which Burrowes told me he had from Tone, is a Mr. Cockayne, an English attorney. Tone told Burrowes that he was in the room during his conference, but that he apprehended he could not hear the conversation that passed.

The truth is, he was brought up at the meeting at the Castle by a warrant issued for his apprehension; being examined, he told all that he knew, but refused to swear any information, or appear as an accuser; at the same time, he said that if compelled to do so by compulsory process, he would declare what he knew. It is agreed that while the negotiation goes on between Burrowes, Tone, and me, he is not to be molested; nor will any circumstance which he discloses be made use of against his associates, unless he agrees to it.

Your ever affectionate and dutiful

M. BERESFORD.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD TO MR. BERESFORD.

May 2nd, 1794.

DEAR FATHER,—I have just time to inform you that Hamilton Rowan has fled: it seems the gaoler was in a habit of permitting him to hand his wife to her carriage every evening when she quitted his apartment; he did so last night, and did not think it convenient to return to his lodgings. He is supposed to have mounted his servant's horse and rode away; the gaoler, however, must have been bribed; for though H. Rowan went off in the evening about eight or nine o'clock, he gave no information of his escape till this morning. A proclamation issues this evening, and is now at the press, stating that he stands charged with high treason and has fled, and offering a reward of 1000*l.* for his apprehension. Such means have been taken to obviate his escape out of the country that, unless he has already sailed, I do not think he will be able to effect it. I dread his getting to France; he might be the bearer of intelligence that would instigate the Carmagnols to attempt a descent here.

Yours dutifully,
M. B.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD TO MR. BERESFORD.

Merrion Square, May 7th, 1794.

DEAR FATHER,—I wrote to you from S. Hamilton's office a few lines acquainting you with H. Rowan's

escape; since that time I have been employed negotiating between Government and Tone; it occurred to me, if there was any strong probability of their not being able to convict him, that it would not be a bad bargain for Government to get rid of him; and more especially so as the Roman Catholics are now hatching mischief, and he has already approved himself so dangerous a tool in their hands—as undoubtedly he was the person who planned and carried into effect their Convention, and who contrived to unite the Presbyterians with them in the furtherance of their object; their present plan is to frame a memorial to the King, stating that those benefits which the Legislature professed to extend to them at his instance have been entirely frustrated by the influence of individuals in power here; in short, it is clearly their object to keep the country in hot water until they obtain the ultimatum of their wishes. To get rid of Tone I consider an object worth attaining. As I found it impossible to get him to appear as a witness on the trial of Jackson, I thought the next best thing I could do was to get from him a minute detail of all the conversations, &c., between Jackson, Rowan, and him; and that he should agree to quit this country for such a term as I should point out to him, and go either to America or the East Indies; and in case he returns before the expiration of that term, he should permit me to make use of his narrative, which is all in his own handwriting, to procure his conviction. This narrative^a is

^a This narrative contained some important and interesting information as to the plans and intentions of the United Irishmen. It was, however, given to Mr. Marcus Beresford by Tone,

very curious, and I will send you a copy of it the first day I have time to make one, which may not be for a day or two, as Term has just begun. Government have agreed not to prosecute him upon the terms I have settled with him; I think, however, I shall be able to get from him some such further information as to the Catholic cabal, and the objects of the United Irishmen, as may be useful; we have heard very bad news this day, the defeat of Clairfait. God grant it may not be so complete as report makes it. I have not heard from you a very long time. All at Abbeville are well; we dined there the day before yesterday.

on the express condition that no use should be made of it to the prejudice of any person mentioned, except for the purpose of preventing a renewal of treasonable practices on the part of those already implicated.

Mr. Marcus Beresford adhered rigidly to his promise, and kept the document strictly, to the day of his death, in 1797, under lock and key, when his widow found it in his desk.

Being aware of the value of the paper, and of the way in which it came into that keeping, she preserved it with the same scrupulous care and secrecy till she left Ireland, soon after the Rebellion, when, considering it to be too important a document to be left to a woman's custody, she delivered it up to Lord Clare, whose position as Lord Chancellor, and whose affectionate regard for her late husband, pointed him out to her as the most fitting person to whom she could commit it.

Lord Clare made use of certain parts of the information contained in it, but without committing any one concerned, in a speech on the state of Ireland delivered by him in the House of Lords soon after the Union. It is probable, however, that he destroyed the original previous to his death in 1802; for the present Lord Clare, having received the statement here detailed from the Editor, was kind enough to make search for "the Narrative" among his late father's papers, but could find no trace of it.

I see by a letter from Clements to Kate, that M. de Marcellanges, and Ligondes are both with you in London; let me know if they come over with you or not. I had not time to write through the Custom House.

Yours, dutifully and affectionately,

M. B.

P.S. When any Gazette extraordinary comes out, I'll thank you to send me one, or bid John to do it.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. MARCUS BERESFORD.

London, 18th May, 1794.

MY DEAR MARK,—Douglas called upon me this day; we had a great deal of conversation about Rowan, &c., by which I found that neither he nor the Administration knew anything about the bargain, &c., with Tone; for he told me that, as Rowan had escaped, Tone was the next guilty person, and ought to be hanged. I told him I did not believe he had evidence against him; he said they had an evidence or witness here that could convict him: I then told him that I did not believe that it was known at the other side the water, and that I apprehended that Tone had made certain discoveries upon certain conditions. He said he had letters from Sackville Hamilton, who never told him a syllable of any negotiation of any kind with Tone, nor did any communication of the sort come to Ministers; that they were mad at the escape of Rowan, and would be much displeased at any bargain with Tone. I think it right to let you know this, that you may get, if you can, in writing,

orders for your conduct, in order to show you only did what you were desired.

A message was sent to Parliament from the King, stating the discoveries generally, and that the papers were seized of the several societies, and that they would be laid before Parliament; this is to be taken into consideration in a day or two.

There is an account, which is universally credited, that the French are beaten out of Austrian Flanders and pursued to Lisle with great loss; and it is also reported that Beaulieu has driven them out of the Duchy of Luxembourg with greater slaughter than has been in any other instance; no official account of either, but the former is believed.

Marcellanges and Ligondes go to-morrow to Lord Moira, he will soon sail; I believe he has 20,000 men under him. M. is in his family, but will take nothing, expecting to be joined by Count d'Artois; Ligondes is to have a commission in the cavalry. I like them both, they have good hearts.

Yours ever,

J. B.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD TO MR. BERESFORD.

Merrion Square, May 20th, 1794.

DEAR FATHER,—I received yours of the 16th this day, and am astonished you had not, at the time of writing it, received any letter of a later date from hence than the 8th. I am very anxious to hear from you after you shall have received my letters of the 11th and 12th.

Whatever impression Mr. Douglas may feel with respect to my negotiation with Tone, I have not taken upon myself to act a forward part, or in any instance exceeded the instructions I received from Lord Westmoreland, and S. Hamilton; and notwithstanding the latter may have the effrontery to assert that he concluded no bargain with Tone, he desired the Attorney-General to communicate to me that they had determined to conclude with Tone, and let him off on the terms upon which I, in the last conference, stated he would gladly accept. The Attorney desired he would tell him in express terms the message he was to deliver to me, which he accordingly did, and sent me also the same message through the Chancellor, which I conveyed to Tone by Burrowes, not having had an opportunity of seeing him myself. The confidential paper he put into my hands I have not communicated to any person but you; in this country no one, not even Wolfe or Fitz Gibbon, has seen it, so that I am not committed, nor have I involved Tone or rendered his situation worse by any act of mine; and that he perfectly understands. Lord W. and S. H. may retract if they please, but they do not state the fact if they say they did not authorise me to conclude an agreement with Tone. By my directions, he has withdrawn himself from town, to avoid the importunity of the Roman Catholics, who wish him to write for them, and the attendance on the trial of the printers of the "Northern Star," which he was to have attended. He is near Naas, and will come up whenever I send for him. I cannot think Rowan has left the kingdom; the only place from which he was confidently stated to have sailed

was Skerries, and I had the strictest inquiry made through Thorne, the Monaghans, and all the smugglers thereabouts, and am certain he did not sail from thence or its neighbourhood. I am very glad you wrote to Dusseldorff to have the money disposed of as you did; it was the mode of all others in which I wished it. I received a letter from Ligondes, which I have not yet had time to answer, but hope I can do so next post, and send you at the same time the clause I alluded to. All at Abbeville well. There is no news here, except a dreadful fight between the militia and Scotchmen as they are called in Cavan, and the defenders at Ballina, in which two of the former, and about seventy of the defenders, were killed. The Swifture has brought into Cork the *Atalanta*, a French 38-gun frigate.

M. B.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Abbeville, 15th July, 1794.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I am uneasy at not having heard from you since your last melancholy one. Let me hear how you and lady A. are.

We are miserable here at the bad news that we have every day. Where it is to end I cannot see; I begin to join Lady Auckland, and do nothing but croak. What are your new arrangements? I do not hear your name mentioned, which I do not like. I do not believe our newspaper accounts of our new Lord-Lieutenant, because I did not understand that he was a particular friend of Mr. Pitt's, and I therefore concluded it would be Lord

Camden.* How Mr. Pitt should send any one here that he cannot depend upon I do not understand, nor can I believe that he will; neither do I see what he can do for Lord Westmoreland, so that I begin to speculate that the new arrangements of the Cabinet may keep things here as they are.

Yours ever affectionately,

J. B.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Beckenham, July 27th, 1794.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have received your two letters of the 15th and 20th instants. Lady Auckland has not yet recovered her natural cheerfulness, which received a severe shock by our late loss; but we now see friends, and are making short excursions. As to public matters, I do not know where to begin, and indeed it is painful to me to write about them. When I left the Continent last summer, we were at the high tide of our fortunes; ever since, we have plunged through a long career of

* John Jeffreys Pratt, second Earl Camden, son of Charles, first Earl, and Elizabeth Jeffreys; born 1759; M.P. for Bath 1780, 1784, 1790; succeeded his father 1794; appointed, 1780, Teller of the Exchequer, the large emoluments of which office he voluntarily relinquished during the latter period of his life to the service of the State; 1782, 1783, till 1786, Lord of the Admiralty; 1786, a Lord of the Treasury; 1793, a Lord of Trade and Plantation; 1795, appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, till 1798; 1804, Colonial Secretary; 1805, Lord President of the Council; again 1807 till 1812; created Marquis Camden 1812; married, 1785, Frances Molesworth; died 1840.

disgraces, disappointments, and distresses, to which I could reconcile my philosophy if I saw any resting-place, or any prospect of returning tranquillity and safety. In a word, I no longer look for our salvation either to councils or to armies, but am driven to the last resource of the human mind, a reliance on Providence to extricate us somehow or other.

As to the late ministerial arrangements, I speak of them with some reluctance, because I may be supposed to be a disappointed man—and indeed it is so far true that I had reason to believe a different arrangement was in view, in which my name made a part; but if Mr. Pitt felt that the calamities of the times required this change (for such it is) in his Administration, there was nothing more to be said. I can freely confide to you my persuasion that he has made a bad move on his political chess-board: I believe that Dundas was the only person of his old friends materially consulted on the occasion. He will find that he has destroyed the weight of a party which was material to be preserved, and which will now become at least insignificant; and he will also find that he has gained nothing in point of talents and efficiency; and lastly, that he is in a decided minority in his own Cabinet. I understood that when this Coalition was formed, Ireland was offered to the Portland party, together with the other offices which were accepted; and I have heard (which I mention in great confidence) that an apology was made to Lord Camden, to whom Ireland had before been destined. Lord Spencer* and the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord

* George Spencer, second Earl Spencer, son of John, first

Fitzwilliam^b having declined the Viceroyalty, it may possibly remain for the present in Lord Westmoreland ; but that tenure cannot, I think, be long, and in short it is under the Duke of Portland's department. Where all this incongruous fermentation will end, God knows ; it would be of little moment if our lives and our families were not endangered by the general state of Europe.

Our good friend Rose and his son (from Berlin) were both here two days ago. His health is more broken than ever, and I have reason to apprehend that last week he had another of those epileptic fits,—indeed he talked to me very seriously about it.

We are expecting Mr. Douglas and Lady Catherine at this place. His situation must be unpleasant as matters now go ; and the Chief Secretaryship will be at best insignificant in his hands. By quitting his profession he has subjected himself to the necessity of being handed over from one Viceroy to another, without any regard to personal confidence and connection. Lord West-

Earl, and Georgina Poyntz ; born 1758 ; M.P. for Northampton 1780 ; succeeded his father 1783 ; appointed Ambassador to Vienna 1794 ; Lord Privy Seal 1794 ; First Lord of the Admiralty 1794 till 1801 ; Secretary of State 1806 ; married, 1781, Lady Lavinia Bingham, daughter of Charles, first Earl of Lucan ; died 1834.

^b William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, fourth Earl Fitzwilliam, son of William, third Earl, and Lady Anne Wentworth, daughter of Thomas, first Marquis of Rockingham ; born 1741 ; succeeded 1756 ; appointed, 1794, Lord President ; 1794, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland ; 1806, Lord President again ; married, first, 1770, Lady Charlotte Ponsonby, daughter of William, second Earl of Bessborough ; secondly, 1823, the Hon. Louisa Molesworth, Dowager Lady Ponsonby ; died 1833.

moreland should know better than I can do; but I do not (*entre nous*) believe that he will open the next session.

Remember us very kindly to Mrs. Beresford, and believe me, my dear Beresford, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 8th August, 1794.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—As to politics, I cannot say that I much admire the state of things; I was very much disappointed, I must own, when I saw the new arrangement; I had expected to have seen your name, which I should have liked full as well as those I see; but I suppose there must be good reason for what is done. As to this country, it is in a state of anxious fermentation, the old friends of Government fearing that, if the government of this kingdom be transferred from Mr. Pitt's friends to the Duke of Portland's, they will be left in the lurch; this causes a considerable discontent, and the folly of the Duke's friends here is such that they have been bragging of the changes which are to be made, which indeed, if we were to believe them, would be nearly universal; however, I do not give any credit to their nonsense; but certainly the situation of people in future, and the engagements of Government to individuals, will be materially affected by the giving up Ireland to his Grace, should that be done; but I have too much reliance on the good sense of Mr. Pitt to

allow me to believe that he will set this kingdom afloat again.

I very sincerely hope that Lord Westmoreland may remain here, as his removal will open the way for a change in my opinion highly detrimental to Mr. Pitt's interest in this country: if he lets this country out of his own hands, he will repent it but once. These are my real sentiments; but the same motives which make you delicate in speaking on political subjects at this period have equal influence on me, for I should be considered as interested in delivering such sentiments.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. B.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Sept. 7th, 1794.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—These few lines are merely to say that, from various circumstances which happened to have come recently under my eye, I suppose it true that Lord Fitzwilliam is your new Viceroy. This will make a fermentation among you, but cannot, thank God, materially affect you. I have no doubt that all the attentions will be shown to you, to your connections, and to your advice, that you can wish, and I heartily desire that there were no other subjects of public uneasiness; but the war prospects continue to be very gloomy.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

London, 22nd Oct., 1794.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I learn that a rupture may very possibly happen between Mr. Pitt and the Portlands. As I understand the business, when Pitt gave away Ireland to his Grace, he understood that he was to be despotic Lord—to appoint the Lord-Lieutenant, to correspond with him only, to transact all Irish business directly with the King, without the interference of Mr. Pitt; that he proceeded accordingly, as you know; that Mr. Pitt let him go on till last Monday se'nnight, when an explanation took place, much anger ensued, and a negotiation has been going on ever since, which I suppose is not at this time successful, for Parnell saw Grattan yesterday, who told him that they had all been duped and ill used; that the Ponsonbys were outrageous, and he very angry; that they and the Portlands were now an united and compact body, to stand or fall together; that no satisfactory plan had been proposed; and that the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam had been basely treated, and if matters remained so, that they would all go into the most thorough opposition in Ireland, and stop at nothing. They are so violent (except Grattan, who says he wishes to screen Government if they will satisfy these men and give him ground for it) that nothing in common reason will content them. I mention this that you may look about; I have given you my authority. The Ponsonbys, Grattan, Lord Fitzwilliam, &c., have meetings every day.

Yours very affectionately, J. B.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, 23rd Oct., 1794.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I am sorry to hear that you have had an attack—the more reason for your coming here to-morrow till Monday; you shall be very quiet. The circumstances you confide to me are very curious. I have said we are like the man in the nightmare, we feel the weight and horror, and yet sleep on. The scramble of the Portland set is all in that style; they look with horror towards Jacobinism, but in the meantime they are absorbed in the old and sleepy game of patronage, in the pursuit of which they are at this instant risking the convulsion of Ireland, after having brought themselves into office upon a plan and system in which there is neither sense, decency, nor probable efficiency. My heart aches for Mr. Pitt in all this; he has great qualities in his own mind, and has vast remaining means to get the country out of a dreadful scrape, but he is bewildered and lost in the manner in which he has constituted his Government, and we and our children will sink with him into the abyss. Do not persuade yourself that this prediction is splenetic; it is most likely to be speedily verified. Even our friend Rose, who has a cool head and excellent sense, is shutting his eyes to the dangers which are over us. More of other matters when we meet: I suspect Agar will carry his point.

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Oct. 29th, 1794.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—If you stay beyond this week, let us know if you can come on Monday next for one or two days. We expect here, from Monday to Wednesday, Sir Ralph and Lady Payne, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and possibly the Graffier Fagel, who, by-the-bye, speaks English as well as we do.

Parnell was at Addiscombe on Sunday. I collect that the first intention of the Grattan Administration was to have proscribed the Chancellor and you. They were afterwards content to leave you. But they would have made your board too hot to hold you, and they would have plagued you in Parliament out of your political existence.

There is now some speculation that Lord Spencer and Thomas Grenville* may be induced to go, and they are less committed than the others. All this is very idle. Mr. Pitt must quiet it by declaring that the Viceroyalty must be holden by a friend of his.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

* The Right Hon. Thomas Grenville, second son of the Right Hon. George Grenville and Elizabeth Wyndham; born 1755; succeeded his eldest brother in the representation of county Bucks 1779; again M.P. for Bucks 1780; for Aldborough 1790; for borough of Buckingham 1797, 1802, 1806, and 1807; appointed President of the Board of Control 1806; First Lord of the Admiralty (Oct.) 1806; died 1846.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Abbeville, Nov. 15th, 1794.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I find this country in a very unpleasant situation, and great jealousy and suspicion amongst the supporters of Government. We shall have a very disagreeable session. The Papists are being worked up by these people, and likely to be troublesome. Every day that a final arrangement is delayed is an additional mischief. The faction here report that Lord Westmoreland is to stay for this session; but that then Lord Fitzwilliam is to come with full powers; and in the meantime, Lord Westmoreland's arrangements are to be set aside, and the Duke of Portland is to substitute others. That, among other matters, the Bishop of Cloyne^a is not to be Provost, but the Duke is to name one. By this means the Ponsonbys are to make Mr. Browne,^b a fellow and member for the University, Provost; and by preferring one of the body, they are to have the support of all the fellows, and thus secure the seat. This is very well, considering that the cry has been, "Take the University out of political hands, and let it have done with politics." Then Lord Westmoreland's recommendation of a Bishop is to be laid aside, and O'Bierne preferred. Douglas recommended for the Secretaryship of State; Ponsonby to be put in his place; and Cashel, Primate. These are the

^a Dr. William Bennett, Bishop of Cloyne; consecrated 1790.

^b Arthur Browne, LL.D., a senior fellow of Trinity College; called to the bar 1779; M.P. for University 1788, 1790, and 1797.

reports, with many others of the same nature. If any of Lord Westmoreland's recommendations are set aside, the conclusion will be that Lord Fitzwilliam is coming, and many will run to the Ponsonby standard, and the country will fall into the hands of the Duke of Portland, and Government in England will not be able to take it out of them again. I suppose, now that Lord Spencer is arrived, the arrangements will be settled. When you hear anything, give me a line.

Ever yours most affectionately,

J. B.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, 17th Nov., 1794.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have not spirits to write much. The situation of this calamitous and disgraceful war grows every day worse and more alarming. I merely mean to say a few words as to what more immediately concerns you. I know that yesterday nothing was settled as to Ireland. The party of Devonshire House say still that they are to name a Viceroy; and that, in the meantime, promotions of any importance shall be kept vacant; that the Provostship of Dublin College, for instance, ought not to have been recommended to; that the arrangements dependent upon the Primacy merit their consideration. Mr. Pitt goes on as if he did not see or hear this; but he does both, and feels the embarrassment grievously. He has had an idea of sending over an English bishop (I believe

Sutton) for the Primacy. The great distresses which are forthcoming may keep down and stifle this squabble; but so the matter stands at present. We mean to go to London on the 25th for three weeks.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Old Palace Yard, Nov. 27th, 1794.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—We came to this smoky town two days ago, to take leave of my brother and his family, who set out this morning for Vienna. We supped with our friend Rose last night, and dined with him at Lambeth Palace the day before. His health is not good, but not worse than when you left him. I have seen various other people, and shall return to my lawn and library better informed of the State affairs than I wish; for there is nothing comfortable at present or in prospect.

You will have learnt all the circumstances respecting the Viceroyalty long before you receive this. Lord Fitzwilliam and Lord Milton* are, I believe, to set out in a fortnight or three weeks. It certainly is a cruel business for the old servants of the old Government; for though I understand it to be positively stated that no

* George Damer, Viscount Milton, son of Joseph, first Earl of Dorchester, and Lady Caroline Sackville, daughter of Lionel, first Duke of Dorset; born 1746; M.P. for Dorchester 1780, 1784, and 1790; for Malton 1798; succeeded his father 1798; appointed Chief Secretary of Ireland 1794; died 1808.

person whatever shall be removed without compensation, and consequently, as no person can be compensated under your Pension Act, in strict logic no person can be removed. But logic is one thing and the spirit of party another. It is clear to me that you will be more or less uncomfortably circumstanced. In respect to your situation, which interests me more than any other, I do not think it in danger of any attack; nor the Chancellor's situation; but the mischief is, that the language, and the measures too, will be such as to put you both into an unpleasant predicament. The best plan clearly is, to watch the course of the storm quietly, and to proceed in the efficient and regular discharge of duty, without appearance either of discontent, or suspicion, or apprehension. If there is any sense in those who govern, you will find yourself courted; if there is none, you will be subject to unpleasant moments from the petulance and absurdities of those who govern the governors; but all that will probably recoil on themselves. In short, gain time, and let the wind blow. Let me hear from you, and I will write again soon. The Primacy will, I think, be accepted by Sutton. I understand Lord Westmoreland is to be Master of the Horse. One of the Ponsonbys means to be Secretary of State; but there still subsists a difficulty, in that case, to provide for Douglas.

Yours very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Dec. 14th, 1794.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have not written during the last ten days, because I have not had it in my power to give you any intelligence that would interest you. I passed the evening yesterday at Lord Hawkesbury's; but it was at a child's ball, and I heard little more than fiddling and dancing. Our friend Rose called here this morning on his way to Holwood; but I, like a good family man, was at church. I understand very positively and pointedly that the new Viceroy is *not* to remove any individual from office, unless for misbehaviour in office; that William Ponsonby is to be Secretary of State; that George Ponsonby is to be Attorney-General when the situation is open; that Douglas is to be some way or another provided for; that Mr. Grattan is to be superintendent of Irish politics, but professedly on the disinterested, moderating, and conciliatory principle; and that no large or offensive change of measures is to be brought forward. My inference is, that there will be great fermentation, both in the levee rooms at the Castle, and in both Houses of Parliament; that Government will be comfortless; that you, Lord Fitz Gibbon, &c., will not be comfortable; that the Ponsonby set will be restless to get a larger share of patronage; that Mr. Pitt will have lost a large body of Irish friends; that the safety even of the country will be hazarded; but that if you and your friends, and the old set, manage honestly, steadily, and temperately, you will by degrees acquire and maintain all the influence which

you ought to have. All other public subjects are gloomy beyond description ; you will soon hear more than enough of them. I only know one piece of good news for you ;—that hereafter when you come to this place, which I trust you often will do, instead of having five gates to open, there will be but one, which will be opened for you, in the middle of the village of Beckenham ; after which you will avoid the water and the gravel-pit, and go nearly in a straight line, without gate or interruption.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

X MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, Jan. 9th, 1795.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—In the ordinary course of the world I ought to begin this letter with a long dissertation on the fluctuation of human affairs, &c., &c. ; but, to be short, I am to be out of office. I have received a message by a friend, the import exactly as follows :—"There is now an active new Administration in this country ; I suppose you know on what footing you stand with them." I replied, "that I was totally ignorant of their intentions, or my situation in their system. All that I know is, and that not from any direct authority, that when in London, I heard that the old supporters of Government were to stand in their old situations." He answered, "that I was misinformed ; that he had the greatest re-

gard for me, and therefore thought it necessary to inform me that it was a settled point that I was to be put out of office." I asked him then, "if he spoke from his private friendship, or if he came to me authorised by any, or what, person." He said he came "authorised by the highest authority." I said, "then I suppose I am speaking to the Lord-Lieutenant." He replied, "that he was ready to meet me on his part." The person who came to me was a friend, Denis Bowes Daly.* He mentioned the very great regard which he and all his connections had for me, and that he and they wished most strongly to make this business as palatable to me as possible, and begged to know how that could be done.

I told him that it would be rather difficult to point out that line. He wished to make it as satisfactory and as advantageous to me as possible, and proposed my retiring on 2000*l.* a-year, and hoped I would acquiesce. I said I would give him no answer whatever to such a proposition; that I could not think, or believe, that I was betrayed or given up; that as I had not the advice of my brother or my son, I could not give him any answer: he pressed me, but I positively refused, telling him His Excellency had a perfect knowledge of his own powers, and could use them; that it was unnecessary for me to say anything as to my feelings; and that I would give no answer without knowing the sentiments of my friends.

* The Right Hon. Denis Bowes Daly; M.P. for Galway borough 1776; ditto 1783; for King's County 1790; ditto 1797; ditto 1800; for town of Galway 1802; for county Galway 1806 and 1807; married, 1780, Charlotte, daughter of the Right Hon. John Ponsonby.

He begged me to write to Lord Waterford, and that I could have an answer by Monday, when he would call on me again. In the course of our conversation something very curious occurred. He said, "I could not be surprised at such a determination." I answered "that in such times, and considering what had passed under my own eyes within three months, I could not be surprised at anything in the chapter of politics." He said, "No Lord-Lieutenant could exist with my power; that I had made a Lord Chancellor, a Chief Justice of the King's Bench, an Attorney-General, nearly a Primate, and certainly a Commander-in-Chief; that I was at the head of the Revenue, and had the Law, the Army, the Revenue, and a great deal of the Church in my possession; and he said expressly, that I was considered the King of Ireland."

I simply replied, "that the statement which he made so completely answered itself that I could not be at the trouble of saying a word on the subject." Here we ended, he saying he would call on Monday for an answer.

Having detailed to you the whole of our conversation, I mean to call upon you and my friends to act on my behalf, and I appeal to Mr. Pitt to support me. I have a right to call upon him, and I do demand from him common justice.

I intended to write more, but it is so late that you must take what I have said as the sudden ideas of my mind. I am inclined to think it impossible that Mr. Pitt will allow it; but my mind is made up, and I am prepared for any event. I cannot call upon Rose on this occasion; his situation forbids it, and common sense

tells me he cannot act. I care not for what these people can do ; I see already that their career is short ; it would be easy to overturn the Government, but God forbid that I was the author ; I shall wait patiently, but never can consent to be subject to the tyranny of these people for the short-lived emoluments which would ensue.

Yours ever affectionately,

J. B.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD WESTMORELAND.

Dublin, 12th Jan., 1795.

MY DEAR LORD,—Although I have not troubled your Lordship on my particular circumstances and interests, yet I apprised others of them who were sure to inform you fully.

In the situation of things, as far as I can understand them, I shall certainly not call upon your friendship to take any part between me and Mr. Pitt. All that I desire of you is, to represent me exactly as you think I deserve to His Majesty, and to every one connected with Irish business.

I have sent a friend to explain my sentiments to Mr. Pitt ; I have been pretty strong and explicit ; I mean no offence, but I have a right to call upon his fair support. The offer made to me was, that I should retire upon my salary of 2000*l.* a-year. I stated to Denis Bowes Daly, and I have done so to Mr. Pitt, that I go out against my will ; that I look upon it as a persecution

for having, as far as I was able, supported Government ; and I have demanded protection. I see the difficulty of your own situation and the delicacy which you must use as to yourself ; I do not, therefore, do more than state to you what has passed, and that imperfectly, through hurry, leaving it entirely to you to interfere or not interfere, as circumstances direct you. Feeling certain of your friendship, I put nothing upon you, only expecting from you a fair and constant representation of my conduct everywhere. If anything new occurs, I shall take the liberty of troubling you.

I am, with the utmost regard, your obliged, humble servant,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, Thursday, Jan. 15th, 1795, 8 o'clock.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I received your letter this moment. It is necessary that I should go immediately to the House of Lords, and I am not sure that I can get away before the post starts. On Tuesday evening the subject of your letter was whispered to me as a secret by a person who I since discover had learnt it from Lord Westmoreland, who the same day made a similar communication to Mr. Pitt. I wrote about it to Rose, who came to me instantly ; I never remember to have seen him more astonished or more affected. He went to Mr. Pitt, and wrote to me that Mr. Pitt's sensations on

the subject were as strong as ours could be ; that he hoped there was some mistake in the statement, " because it would be an open breach of a most solemn promise." Rose came to me again this morning about it. I shall see him to-night, as soon as he comes from the House of Commons, and I will take my measures.

The moment is most unfavourable for such a discussion, as we received only this morning the news of the stunning catastrophe, which I have long in vain foreseen and predicted, that Holland, Zealand, &c., with their stores, shipping, riches, &c., may at this hour be presumed to be in the full possession of the French, and that the remnant of our armies is retreating to Germany. God knows the consequences, but we must not sink under it. The madness of the Rockinghams in thinking of jobs, offices, &c., as indecently and insatiably as they have done, in a such a moment, passes all comprehension.

It is impossible, I think, for Mr. Pitt to submit to the injury done to you ; certainly he cannot with honour.

As soon as I return from the House I mean to transcribe and send him a proper extract of your letter, which is as well conceived and expressed as possible ; and as to the rest, I will consult and concert with Rose, who is like a brother to you in this matter. No more at present ; your sentiments are wise, honourable, and right. Be of courage. I will write fully to-morrow or Saturday.

Yours most affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 15th Jan., 1795.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—Uncertain of the ground on which I stand, I have endeavoured to conduct myself with as much firmness and propriety as I am capable of. I have seen from the beginning that the great object has been to induce me to go out willingly, and seem pleased, in order that it might be pleaded against me in England that I accepted of terms, and renounced protection. I have, therefore, from the first to the last, taken care to avoid giving them this plea. I declare that I am an injured man; that I am turned out of office; and I will not resign. If any one reason for displacing me can be produced, save only that I have supported Government, and that my office is wanted in order to be given to some other person, in order to support, not Government, but the governors of Government, I am ready to resign; but if no other reason can be given, I have a fair call on Mr. Pitt for support. I fear that my city business is going all wrong. Thus you see the old proverb verified, as we say in Ireland, “Single misfortunes never come alone.” My wife also is ill, and must, I believe, go to Bath.

In all circumstances, ever yours,

J. B.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, Jan. 16th, 1795.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—After finishing my hasty scrawl to you yesterday, I went to the House of Lords,

where Lord Westmoreland took me aside and asked me if I had heard from you. I answered that I had, and stated the general purport of your letter. He said that it tallied exactly with an account which he had received through another channel, and that he should wait upon Mr. Pitt respecting it to-day. On his intimating that he should also perhaps have a letter from you, I said that if it should happen that you did not write, it was not through any want of attention or confidence towards him, but from delicacy, and a wish not to implicate your friends more than was necessary in the discussion. I must add that he expressed great zeal, and a warm and honourable attachment to you and the Chancellor. Rose came to me, and expressed all that affectionate eagerness which you have always experienced from him.

I wrote to Mr. Pitt to say that a letter which I had received from Ireland made it necessary for me to have a quarter of an hour's conversation with him. He appointed me at ten o'clock this morning. I put your letter into his hands, and desired him to read aloud, which he did, with such comments as you may well suppose.

It is not necessary to enter at this moment into all that was said. He asked me if I had any objection to place the letter in his hands, and let my name be brought forward in it. I told him that he was perfectly welcome to use the letter in whatever manner might best answer our mutual view in the business. I withdrew the last paragraph, because it was unconnected with the real business, and implied a power of embarrassing Government, which you certainly have in a

great degree, but which is not necessary to be brought into view. I take for granted that it is to be the subject of a discussion to-day with some of the Ministers most concerned, and also that it has been carried to the closet; and I am authorised to hold a serious conversation on the subject with one of the Cabinet.

I asked what answer I should give to you in the meantime, and was answered, "Tell him that I have learned the particulars in question with great surprise and great concern; that in the unexampled pressure and difficulty of public affairs at this precise moment I cannot yet say more; but that you are to hear from me again in a few days, and in the meantime render justice to what you know are my real sentiments."

I will write again on Monday, and in the meantime I shall probably again hear from you. The truth is, that if it were possible to come to a decisive explanation on this subject, it would have been done at the moment; but the state of the country, under the accumulation of calamity and danger, is such that management is necessary from every principle of public duty. It is wonderful that at such a crisis Lord Fitzwilliam can lend his name to an indecent, cruel, and unjust course of jobbing—contrary, also, to what was understood by a most solemn promise. It is of course in their plan to force the Chancellor, &c., from their situations. Perhaps you know that it was originally in view to give the seals to Serjeant Adair.* What a strange and blind ignorance of the country to be governed! I am anxious to hear

* James Adair, M.P. for Higham Ferrers 1790 and 1796.

further from you. In the meantime believe that I shall be quite awake to the matter, and that more is passing through my mind than I can put on paper.

Yours very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

X LORD MILTON TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin Castle, Friday, 16th Jan., 1795.

SIR,—His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, having determined to recommend to His Majesty a new Commission for the Board of Revenue of Excise and Customs, has commanded me to inform you that your name will not be included in that recommendation; but His Excellency having taken into consideration your long and laborious attendance in the office of First Commissioner of that Board, will, on the new arrangement which he shall propose being approved of by His Majesty, signify his orders to the Board of Excise to place 2000*l.* per annum, being the amount of your present salary, amongst the incidental charges of His Majesty's Revenue, to be allowed to you, consonant to a resolution of the House of Commons.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

MILTON.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD MILTON.

Custom House, 17th Jan., 1795.

MY LORD,—I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter, communicating to me the determination of His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant to recommend to His Majesty a new Commission for the Board of Revenue of Excise and Customs, and that His Excellency does not intend to include my name in that recommendation.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, with great respect,
your obedient and very humble servant,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 19th Jan., 1795.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I received yours of the 15th yesterday; you cannot conceive what pleasure it gives me to find that you approve of what I have done; I have the satisfaction to find that my conduct has been here universally approved. On Saturday I sent you a copy of Lord Milton's letter to me, and my answer. This letter contains certainly, in plain English, His Excellency's dismissal of me, copied nearly from Lord North's to Charles Fox. The second part of the letter, which mentions the intention of giving a salary, is worded with all the kindness I expected, viz. His Excellency having taken into consideration my long and laborious attendance in the office of first Commissioner, &c., is

a very pretty discharge. He turns me off, and orders his butler to pay me. My answer was written merely because I thought in civility I ought to give a reply. I therefore gave as dry a one as I could ; and I avoided saying anything upon the subject of the salary, because I did not approve, and an advantage might have been taken of me if I had expressed my disapprobation.

The folly of Mr. Ponsonby's declarations is extraordinary. To me Mr. Daly declared that I was considered King of Ireland, and at Lord Shannon's dinner, after he had gone away and a sufficient quantity of wine had been drunk, Ponsonby declared that he had been long struggling for power—that he had got the reins in his hands, and would use them.

At Parnell's dinner, seven of them sat till one o'clock, and got drunk ; Sir John got into an argument, and swore that they never did so silly a thing as turn me out, and was pleased to speak of me as an efficient and honest servant of the Crown. Ponsonby replied that he acknowledged what he said, and spoke handsomely of me, but concluded thus, " had I, however, allowed him to remain in office, how could the whole power of the country have been put into my hands ? " He then told them that he never would have come into office if he had not brought over Lord Fitzwilliam with him ; and that even then they would not have undertaken it if they had not had a Secretary of State to correspond with who would do as they desired.

Lord Milton has acknowledged, by letter to Cooke, that they have no charge to make against his official conduct ; that they remove him because they want his

office to accommodate His Excellency's official arrangements.

Sackville Hamilton's dismissal makes a great noise; but he has not spirit enough to stir, but sinks under it.

There was a very bitter libel against the Chancellor in the "Hibernian;" illiberal, blackguard, and nonsensical. His Excellency sent Dr. O'Bierne,* his new bishop and private Secretary, to assure him that it was not countenanced by him, or written by O'Bierne, though it did appear in a paper devoted to them.

I send you a paper which contains the addresses of the Dissenters and Papists, and His Excellency's answers. They speak for themselves. The situation of the public is melancholy indeed; but I shall have full opportunity of talking with you on these subjects, as I sail the first opportunity. I find that no packet has sailed since Saturday, 10th, so that all my letters, except the first, remain in the post office here.

Ever yours most faithfully,

J. B.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, Jan. 21st, 1795.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I had expectation of further news before this time. I have no news to send you

* The Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Bierne, originally educated for a Roman Catholic priest, took orders in the established Protestant Church; came over as Private Secretary with the Duke of Portland to Ireland 1782; came again, in 1795, in the same capacity with Lord Fitzwilliam; consecrated Bishop of Ossory 1795; promoted to Meath 1798; died 1823.

with respect to your own affairs. Mr. Pitt's answer implied a promise that I should soon hear from him again. I see our friend Rose frequently. He seems to be low in spirits, and to feel vexation, but the public circumstances are sufficiently bad to half break the heart of any man who takes a part in them. Lord Westmoreland told me yesterday that he had heard from Lord Waterford about you, and he expressed great warmth and zeal. My speculation is, that Mr. Pitt is intimating to the Duke of Portland that he cannot give way to this treatment; and that the King is probably brought forward to give a similar intimation; that you can in no case be legally superseded without a reference to this country, and that if the reference should come it will be negatived. Nothing but the very calamitous crisis in which we are prevents this matter from having a much shorter decision. I think that, upon the whole, you should stand steady to your refusal, and leave the rest to the chapter of accidents.

The manœuvres relative to the removal of the Attorney and Solicitor Generals came to me last week through another channel. I took the occasion to communicate them in a general way to Mr. Pitt, as making a part of the same silly and indiscreet system of job and patronage, which he must resist in the first instance, unless he means to be dishonoured, and also to see the Government of Ireland thrown into permanent confusion.

This Dutch history, exclusive of public mischief, affects Lady Auckland and me very much, by the ruin which it brings upon many excellent persons, and families much connected with us in friendship.

The parliamentary debates of next week will take an unpleasant turn ; but I conceive that Government will be supported by full numbers, though in bad temper, with low-spirited language, and no impressions of confidence. The fact is, that the Opposition party is dreaded by the country at large, and that consideration is our main support.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

MR. H. CLEMENTS, M.P., TO MR. BERESFORD.

Jan. 23rd, 1795.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I was astonished, on walking down to the Custom House, to find that you had sailed an hour before. I shall be impatient to hear from you from London. The meeting which I was at the night before you sailed consisted of Lord-Lieutenant, and Secretary, Chancellor, Shannon, Speaker, two Ponsonbys, Grattan, Parnell, and Cavendish, and like all consultations, broke up without any material decision.

Lest no one should tell you of our meeting of Parliament, I send you this day's paper. Grattan, two Ponsonbys, Curran, and Hardy were all on the Treasury Bench with Parnell and the Secretary. Grattan was great in his reply to Duquerry,* who attacked Pitt, who was well defended by Grattan. There never was so long and so

* Henry Duquerry, called to the bar 1774; K.C.; M.P. for Rathcormack.

stupid a speech as Duquerry's, void of all argument but what made against his motion. He was well mauled, even by Egan.* Young *Egalité*^b made a wild and wicked speech, though the Duke of Leinster has got the Hanaper.

Believe me, ever most truly and faithfully yours,

H. TH. CLEMENTS.

SIR J. BLAQUIERE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 30th January, 1795.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—We are impatient to hear of your safe arrival in London, and of the result of it, though nothing very decisive can be immediately looked for. All things here are in the same state you left them in—people staring at one another, and fearful, as one would think, of opening their lips. Nothing stirring in Parliament; nor do we even guess at what is intended for the defence of the country. It is difficult to make a

* John Egan, called to the bar 1778; K.C.; M.P. for Tallaght. A large man, nicknamed Bully Egan, who made himself notorious by the violence of his conduct upon the defeat of the motion for a Legislative Union in 1799.

^b The unfortunate but amiable Lord Edward Fitzgerald, whose political errors were sincerely deplored by those who were the most opposed to his destructive principles, to whom he was personally endeared by his private virtues, and who lamented his untimely fate though they were compelled to condemn and to resist the reckless career which led to it. He was the fourth son of James, first Duke of Leinster, and Lady A. Mary Lennox; born 1763; M.P. for County Kildare; married, 1792, Pamela, the reputed natural daughter of the Duke of Orleans; died 1798.

House. A motion about the Militia creates some sensation. It is said to mean J. S., who is reported to have made his militia corps more accommodating to his other regiment than was strictly justifiable; and if this be so, I fear it may go to some lengths.

We had a little innocent riot here last night. It was begun by the college boys, who broke windows of houses not illuminated on account of the new Provost's^a appointment. Another mob then attacked the Crimp Houses, two of which they gutted in the completest manner, burning in the street even the doors and door-cases. I had the advantage of seeing the ceremony, being at supper at Shaw's, in Fleet Street, quite close to the scene of action; and had it been known that Warren was of our party, the probability is that our house would have shared the same fate: and by some accident in the Castle regulations it happened that the captain of the guard refused to give the magistrates assistance, and justified it by his orders; upon which subject I had the honour of waiting upon Lord Milton this morning. All this is bad enough; in truth the aspect of things does not mend.

Ever yours,

J. BLAQUIERE.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD TO MR. BERESFORD.

Merrion Square, Feb. 4th, 1795.

DEAR FATHER,—Wolfe was so good as to communicate to me your letter; I have great hopes from it that

^a The Rev. Richard Murray.

his successor's appointment will not come over so soon as he expects. You cannot conceive how they have been working and playing tricks to keep back the Money Bills from being laid before the law officers of the Crown, that they may deprive Wolfe and Toler of their fees. I never yet knew any instance of their not being considered before this time. Little things mark the shabby disposition of persons in high places. We had some conversation last night about the vote for 200,000*l.* for seamen. Duquerry and Tighe^a spoke very disrespectfully of Mr. Pitt, and insinuated that Lord Fitzwilliam was in his heart averse to the war, and not inclined to support Mr. Pitt's measures in carrying it on. Lord Milton said that Lord Fitzwilliam had been from the beginning as warm a supporter, and as firmly convinced of the necessity of the war, as Mr. Pitt. Grattan made a violent speech on the subject of insinuating that any difference could exist between the Duke of Portland's friends, and Mr. Pitt, and the Cabinet, naming the parties, and that the bare idea of such a dissension was destructive of the welfare of the country. You may suppose that the pledging themselves thus was rather grateful to the feelings of some of their audience.

Yours ever dutifully,

M. BERESFORD.

^a William Tighe, M.P. for borough of Wicklow.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD TO MR. BERESFORD.

Merrion Square, Feb. 8th, 1795.

MY DEAR FATHER,—Toler^a has been much pressed within these few days to resign, and was told by Lord Milton that though they could not now ascertain that there would be a vacancy within a fixed period on the bench, yet that he might rely upon it, when one did occur, that he should be provided for; to which he answered, that he was surprised that Lord Milton could bring himself to offer a promise of future arrangements as a motive to induce him to surrender his office, when he was obliged to preface his offer with an avowal of a breach of his first engagement.

Dr. Duigenan^b told me this day that he had been informed by A. Browne, that it was yesterday determined at the Castle that William Ponsonby should have the Secretary of State's place immediately, and be recommended also to succeed you. He stated also, that he understood from him that the recommendation went

^a The Right Hon. John Toler, second son of D. Toler of Beechwood, county Tipperary, and Letitia Otway; born 1745; called to the bar 1770; Sergeant-at-Law 1780; Solicitor-General 1789; Attorney-General 1798; appointed Chief Justice of Common Pleas 1800; created Baron Norbury 1800; Earl 1827; M.P. for Tralee 1776; for Philipstown 1783; for Goree 1790 and 1797; married, 1778, Grace Graham, who was created Baroness Norwood 1797; died 1831.

^b The Right Hon. Patrick Duigenan, LL.D., Professor of Law in the University of Dublin, K.C.; Judge of the Prerogative Court; M.P. for Old Leighlin 1790; for Armagh 1797; and in the Imperial Parliament; a strong opponent of the Catholic claims; died 1816.

over by last night's mails. I cannot give the report implicit credit, though I know that Browne is in their confidence. If it be true, my conjecture is that he has taken those situations in order to have an equivalent to give to Foster for the chair; for though W. Ponsonby is very vain, I cannot think that he can persuade himself that he is equal to the despatch of the Revenue business. I understand that Grattan and Foster are to draw together in the new arrangements of Inland Excise; they seem extremely intimate. The Cabinet met last night to consider whether they should raise the additional men for the militia upon bounty or by ballot. The following persons composed it: Lord Chancellor, Speaker, two Ponsonbys, Forbes, Grattan, Cuff,* the Chief Baron, the Duke of Leinster, and Lord Shannon, —a curious group!

The Government, lest their motive for stopping the money bills at the Custom House, &c., should be misunderstood, sent the same order to the Post Office, where there could be no pretence for keeping back the Post Office Bill, as no change takes place there; but Lees had anticipated them, and sent it to the law officers, who had prepared it and got their fee.

I have mentioned several uninteresting anecdotes, but I wish you to know how everything goes on, and trifles show in some degree the complexion of things.

Yours dutifully,

M. BERESFORD.

* The Right Hon. James Cuff, eldest son of James Cuff and Elizabeth Gore; born 1738; M.P. for borough of Donegal 1776; M.P. for county Mayo 1783 to 1797; created, 1797, Baron

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

(To be laid before Mr. Pitt.)

8th February, 1795.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—In the present critical and embarrassing situation of things, I cannot but feel very strongly for the difficulties in which Mr. Pitt may be involved, and I should be very unhappy if any concerns of mine should add to these difficulties.

It is impossible for me to be divested of emotion upon the treatment which I have met with in Ireland—a treatment as cruel and unjust as it is unmerited. His Excellency has been pleased to inform me, by a letter from his Secretary, that it is his intention to recommend to His Majesty that I shall be removed from my office, and his reasons have been assigned to me through two different channels. Mr. Bowes Daly informed me, in terms which I need not repeat, that I was considered as too powerful in Ireland. The new Bishop of Ossory has lately told the Archbishop of Tuam that he was authorised by His Excellency to say, that he wished to live on good terms with me and my family, that none of them were to be injured, although he was obliged to remove me from office, as *he was informed* that I governed Ireland, which he could not admit of. Thus have I been driven from my office, after twenty-five years' service, upon a private suggestion as unfounded as it is malicious—without inquiry, or investigation, and accompanied by circumstances of exaggeration which it is unnecessary for me to recapitulate.

Tyrawly; appointed First Commissioner of Barrack Board 1788; married, 1770, Mary Levinge; died 1821.

Notwithstanding these circumstances and the feelings which they cause, if my retiring from office will in any manner tend to the disembarassing Mr. Pitt, and promoting the service of His Majesty's Government, I am willing to retire.

I have a perfect sense of Mr. Pitt's honourable and firm support of my claims, and I am ready to sacrifice both my feelings and my interest to what I esteem my duty, certain that when I commit myself to his care, I put myself into the hands of an honourable friend. I request you, therefore, to call upon Mr. Pitt, and state my sentiments to him.

I am, my dear Auckland, your faithful, humble servant,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD FITZ GIBBON, LORD CHANCELLOR, TO
MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 14th February, 1795.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Lord Waterford and Mark have communicated to me from time to time the import of your letters to them; and of course you will believe that nothing has transpired from me. Business goes on apparently smooth in the House of Commons, but it is impossible that should long continue. Parsons* and

* Sir Laurence Parsons, son of Sir William, fifth Baronet, and Mary Clere; born 1758; M.P. for King's County 1791 to 1807; succeeded his uncle as second Earl of Rosse 1807; Postmaster-General of Ireland 1809; married, 1797, Alice Lloyd; died 1841.

Duquerry have called upon His Excellency's Ministers to carry into effect their stipulations with the country when in Opposition, upon the subject of retrenchment, reform, and the repeal of the Convention Act. When the subject was first mentioned by Parsons, I am told it occasioned no small consternation on the Treasury bench. The lovely George professed his determination to adhere to his principles, not explaining whether he meant his principles as professed from the year 1781 to 1789, or from 1789 to 1795; Langrishe was put forward to twaddle and give time for recollection. Upon deliberation, the great 'Squire stepped forth, and disdaining to shelter himself behind either set of Brother George's principles, manfully declared that all offices created by Lord Buckingham must and should be abolished, and that the Convention Act should be repealed, inasmuch as he was clearly of opinion that it was a bad declaration of the law. Duquerry, in the Committee of Ways and Means, proposed a tax upon offices, pensions, &c., and was treated with uncommon harshness and contempt by Minister Grattan. They have made their bargain, after long negotiation, with Kelly,* to give him a pension of 1200*l.* a year, and his wife or daughter 300*l.* For the first, they must bring in a bill to enable them to violate their favourite Pension Act, and I should suppose in the progress of it they will be very handsomely worked, as it is perfectly well known that Kelly spurned their first proposition with great indignation, stating that he was as well able to do the duties of his

* Thomas Kelly, Justice of the Common Pleas; called to the bar 1753; appointed Judge 1784; resigned 1801.

office as ever he had been, in which most certainly he told the truth.

To add to the popularity of this measure, whenever it may come forward, Curran* has this day been exhibited to great advantage on the trial of his action for *crim. con.* against the parson. I am told that a scene of the most profligate debauchery and cruelty to his wife has been laid before the public; and to complete his character, he produced his son, a boy of fourteen years old, on the table, to prove his mother a ——.

His Excellency was pleased, three or four days since, to promote eight young gentlemen to the rank of King's counsel. Three of them, Messrs. Brown, Hoare, and Fletcher, forgot that by accepting office they vacated their seats in Parliament, and seem now not a little surprised to find that they must take their chance for a fresh election, which they are not sure of.

On Wednesday, Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of all laws in any manner affecting Papists. I rejoice to hear from Mark this day that this last project is likely to be stopped by authority from England. If the subject should be well considered there, it is impossible that the British Government should suffer it to go on. The only Acts which now affect Irish papists are the Act of Supremacy and

* The Right Hon. John Philpot Curran, born of poor but respectable parents, James Curran and Martha Philpot, at Newmarket, in the county of Cork, 1750; educated on the Foundation of Middleton School and Trinity College, Dublin; called to the bar 1775; appointed Master of the Rolls 1806; M.P. for Kilbeggan 1783; for Rathcormack 1790 and 1797; died 1817.

Uniformity, the Test Act, and the Bill of Rights. The King cannot give his assent to a repeal of any of these without a direct breach of his Coronation Oath, of the Act limiting the Succession to the Crown, and of the Articles of the Union with Scotland. Whenever Mr. Grattan brings in his Bill—and it is printed—I mean to send it over to England, with comments in reference to British statutes which certainly bind the King upon this subject. In their Bill for establishing Papist Colleges they will find the same difficulties, if they do not take more precautions than they are capable of. I am very much afraid that Lord Waterford is strongly inclined to shirk upon this subject. With regard to yourself, I strongly agree with you in everything.

As yet we have not heard anything from Lord Dillon.* I have reason to believe that he would gladly get rid of the business if he knew how. At all events, I shall call upon him to proceed or to give it up.

Yours always truly,

My dear B.,

FITZ GIBBON.

LORD FITZ GIBBON TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 25th Feb., 1795.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have but time before the post goes out to tell you that I have this moment re-

* Charles Dillon Lee, twelfth Viscount Dillon, son of Henry, eleventh Viscount, and Lady Charlotte Lee, daughter and heiress of George, Earl of Lichfield; born 1745; succeeded 1787; married, 1776, the Hon. Henrietta Phipps, daughter of Constantine, Lord Mulgrave; died 1813.

turned from a conference with His Excellency, who sent for me to communicate his resolution to quit his Government the moment he can get the Money Bills and Mutiny Bill through the two Houses, and to appoint Lords Justices under the authority of his patent.

His two grand grievances are your removal, and the difficulties thrown in his way upon the Catholic question.

He hopes to get away in seven days. I mentioned to him the expediency of waiting for instructions from England, and an English commission for Lords Justices; but he seems resolute not to wait beyond the time necessary for getting the Bills through both Houses.

Yours always truly,

FITZ GIBBON.

Dr. Ferguson^a has declined, and George Hill^b comes in for Londonderry without opposition.

^a Dr. Andrew Ferguson, the father of Sir Robert Ferguson, Bart.; represented Londonderry 1798 to the Union; married Elizabeth Alexander; created Baronet 1801; died 1806.

^b The Right Hon. Sir George Fitzgerald Hill, son of Sir Hugh Hill, the first Baronet, and Mary Hodson; born 1764; M.P. for Coleraine 1790; for Londonderry 1795 to 1798; for the county of Londonderry 1800; for city of Londonderry 1802 to 1830; Clerk of the House of Commons 1798 to the Union; Vice-Treasurer of Ireland 1816; appointed Governor of Trinidad 1830; married, 1788, Jane, daughter of the Right Hon. J. Beresford; died 1839.

LORD FITZ GIBBON TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 2nd March, 1795..

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—This day I heard that Mr. Grattan's bill had been sent over to England—I presume, to endeavour if possible to remove the difficulties which have arisen there. What his bill may be I know not; but sure I am that to carry his project into execution he must repeal the Act of Supremacy, the Test Act, the Act of Uniformity, the Bill of Rights, and the Act limiting the Succession to the Crown; and I do not think it requires any very great degree of sagacity to see that the King cannot give his assent to a repeal of any of them in this country without a breach of his Coronation Oath, and a direct violation of the Articles of Union with Scotland.

If any doubt could exist that the Coronation Oath binds the King not to assent to a repeal of any of the Acts which were enacted before and at the Revolution, for the maintenance and security of the Protestant Establishment, the journals of Parliament would alone remove it. While the Act establishing the Coronation Oath was in progress through the House of Commons, a clause was proposed, by way of rider to it, declaring that nothing contained in the Oath should be construed to bind down the King or the Queen, their heirs and successors, not to give the Royal Assent to a bill qualifying the Act of Uniformity in favour of Dissenters, which was negatived. By the Articles of Union it is declared to be a fundamental article that the King of Great Britain shall maintain the Church of England, as

by law established in England, Ireland, and Berwick-upon-Tweed. If this has not occurred to Dundas and Loughborough, it would not be amiss to remind them of it; and as to the latter, if by any fatality Mr. Grattan's bill shall find its way to England for the Royal Assent, I do in my conscience think that he will stake his head upon the experiment if he should affix the seal of England to it. Pray remind Auckland of the bargain made in Ireland in the year 1782, by Yelverton's Act, and let him say whether a repeal of any of the English statutes adopted by that Act in this country is not a direct violation of the compact then made by the Parliament of Ireland with Great Britain. I had the honour of a conference on this subject about a month since, when I stated every objection which occurs upon the British statutes, as well as the ruinous policy of the measure to Ireland, even if it were practicable; and from that day to this I have heard no more of it.

On Friday last Mr. Forbes came down and moved a string of very absurd resolutions upon the Treasury business, without giving notice to any person whatever of his intention. They were all agreed to in a Committee; and this day, on the report, he washed his hands of the business, and bequeathed his resolutions to Lord Milton, as the most valuable legacy he could bestow upon him. Mademoiselle Duquerry begged to know whether the legacy was accepted, and the poor gentleman was figged up to administer, and immediately moved for leave to bring in a bill pursuant to Mr. Forbes's bequest. The said Mr. Forbes, having thus saddled his ass, proceeded to resolve the House into

a Committee of Ways and Means, when and where he abolished the Excise duties on ale and beer, and proposed an additional tax on malt and spirits, which was instantly agreed to, Parnell having ventured to state his doubts whether this project would tend to increase the Revenue. I believe that you will agree with me that by this most salutary financial operation he has eased the subject of taxes to the amount of 100,000*l.* in the current year.

I am told that the virtue of Administration is a little staggered at the idea of promoting Mr. Curran. His cruelty, his profligacy, and villany of every kind, was proved so fully on the trial of his action against his Reverence that it is said they are afraid to bring him forward.

We talk very much of increasing the military establishment, but Ministers are so much engaged in doing good that they have not leisure to think of anything so trivial as the defence and security of the country. The poor French gentlemen came over here, and were taught to believe they could raise regiments, but Ministers have not leisure to consider how and by what authority aliens can receive military commissions in Ireland. If I had not a wife and children, and a bit of land which in an evil hour my father entailed in Ireland, I should be very much amused at their folly and presumption.

Yours always truly,

FITZ GIBBON.

LORD FITZWILLIAM TO LORD CARLISLE

Dublin Castle, 6th March, 1795.

DEAR CARLISLE,—I thank you for your letter, and for the motives which induced you to write it. I know the warmth and truth of your friendship for me, and feel the sincerity of it when you apprise me of all the calumnies, all the aspersions, and all the false charges and insinuations that are levelled against my devoted head; but standing as I find I do, single, naked, and unsupported, I tremble not; I am not dismayed. I feel the inward consciousness that against whatever part of my conduct, whether as to measures or arrangements, the attack is principally to be levelled, I am able to defend its justice, wisdom, and propriety. As yet, my dear Carlisle, but one side of the question has been heard; it has been heard only through the medium of insinuations and suspicions—through that of calumny and aspersion, under the mask of a pretended regret, and of friendly concern for me and my character. Perhaps you yourself may have received your information, and taken your opinions, from the very persons who have grossly betrayed and unfeelingly abandoned me; whose counsels, maxims, and measures, I have been pursuing, and for having pursued, I am now given up to every sort of obloquy. You tell me that you have heard of the list of my dismissals with surprise and dismay. I long to know what dismissals they are that have produced this wonderful effect. I removed two clerks from office, placed in situations that required a certain degree of confidence, but perfectly subordinate,

and of no great degree of responsibility. It might be sufficient for me to say that neither I nor my chief Secretary, with whom they were in hourly intercourse, felt inclined to give them that confidence or to suffer the business of their respective offices to be conducted on the system which we found had been lately introduced there. In your days, they were clerks—in mine, I found them ministers. Other Governments have been managed by such a system, mine could not. One of my objects, and that a principal one, was to bring back consequence and dignity to English Government, to restore to the Castle its proper Ministers, to have in every subordinate office persons content to manage it as such, and to show that the Government, as well in its patronage as in its various official details, was in no other hands but in mine and Lord Milton's.

Whether I left these persons the pen and ink of their office with their usual salaries, or, removing them, made them compensation adequate to their services and pretensions, can never appear to me matter of such magnitude as to spread dismay through the British Cabinet. In this light it is really too ridiculous; but to take care of them was an act not only of propriety but of justice. The thanks of one of them conveyed in writing, and expressed in personal conference with myself within these two days, justify my attention to him. Mr. Cooke, indeed, whose tone and style rendered his approach to a superior not to be supported, rejects my proposals in his favour, and thinks a retreat upon 1200*l.* a-year an inadequate recompense for the magnitude and importance of his services. I made proposals to the British Minister

for the removal of the Attorney and Solicitor Generals. Are these proposals, with the terms and stipulations on which I suggested the adoption of them, among the causes that have spread this consternation? Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland knew perfectly well that the men whom I found possessed of these Ministerial offices were not the men in whom I meant to confide in the arduous measures I had to undertake. Was I then to have two sets of men, one possessing confidence without office, the other office without confidence? The absurdity must strike you and everybody, and the delay of perfecting in England the arrangement I proposed in order to avoid this absurdity, exposed Lord Milton to a situation perfectly awkward, and which might have been perfectly embarrassing. But I can take my ground upon the fact itself, independent of every other consideration. Without meaning to depreciate the character of the gentlemen still in those offices, with respect to their professional merits, indisputably they were not men of Parliamentary abilities. You know it is upon the persons in those offices that Government relies both for the defence and the display of their measures. I had a right, therefore, to look for Parliamentary ability in the persons who filled those offices, and who were to sit upon the Treasury bench. In them I did not find that qualification. In Mr. Ponsoby I found it in an eminent degree; his appointment the Duke of Portland at all times considered as a thing to be done; it was the situation for him he always designed him, as that for which he was peculiarly qualified, as well by his professional knowledge and talents

as by his Parliamentary eloquence, and it was the only one in which he could serve me confidentially and ostensibly. That he should do so was as much the Duke of Portland's recommendation as it was my desire. If it had not been so, why did the Duke of Portland desire me to send for him to England to consult upon the general arrangements of my Government? Why did Mr. Pitt admit him to consultations upon our arrangements and measures? The only objection I ever remember Mr. Pitt to have suggested was, that he wished him first to be Solicitor-General, in order that he might not jump at once into the elevated station of Attorney-General, but rise by a regular gradation; but I never once concurred in the objection, because I knew that Mr. Ponsonby had always fairly stated, both to the Duke of Portland and to me, that he had another person in view for Solicitor-General, to whom he and all his political connections were under an absolute engagement, the only one to which they were pledged. The great question, then, was to make an easy and honourable retreat for the person who actually possessed the office of Attorney-General. That retreat was secured to him in the fullest meaning and intent of the expression, unless it can be said that a reversion for himself and his son of 2300*l.* a-year, and that daily augmenting, a peerage for his family, and an assurance on my part that, although removed from the immediate pretensions of his office, he still remained the person in my contemplation to fill the first vacancy of a chief seat on the bench, was not an easy and an honourable retreat, but "a punishment for sins not committed against my Govern-

ment." With respect to the Solicitor-General, considering his pretensions, I conceive that had my proposals been carried into effect I should have done equally well by him. The world thinks so, and, judging by his manners towards Lord Milton and me, I have every reason to believe that he joins in the same opinion.

And now for the great question about Mr. Beresford. In a letter of mine to Mr. Pitt upon this subject, I reminded him of a conversation in which I had expressed to him (in answer to the question put by him to me) my apprehensions that it would be necessary to remove that gentleman, and that he did not offer the slightest objection or say a single word in favour of Mr. Beresford; this alone would have made me suppose that I should be exempt from every imputation of breach of agreement if I determined to remove him. But when, on my arrival here, I found all those apprehensions of his dangerous power, which Mr. Pitt admits I had often represented to him, were fully justified—when he was filling a situation greater than that of the Lord-Lieutenant himself, and when I clearly saw that if I had connected myself with him, it would have been connecting myself with a person labouring under heavy suspicions, and subjecting my Government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant upon his mal-administration,—what was then my choice—what the decision I had to form? I could not hesitate a moment. I decided at once not to cloud the dawn of my Administration by leaving in such power and authority so much imputed malversation; but in doing this I determined, whilst I determined to curtail him of his power, and to show to

the nation that he did not belong to my Administration, to let him remain in point of income as well to the full as he had ever been. I did not touch, and he knew that I did not intend to touch, a hair of the head of any of his family or friends, and they are still left in the full enjoyment of more emoluments than ever was accumulated in any country upon any one family. To the odium of leaving him in possession of his full salary I submitted, rather than incur the risk of displeasing my colleagues by infringing the emoluments of a person professing great attachment to them—though, indeed, I had at the same time no slight grounds of doubting the sincerity of these professions. This, then, is the list of my dismissals, and by them I have drawn down upon my head the censure of my Sovereign, even at the risk of the peace of this kingdom, and have deserved to be abandoned and sacrificed by those in whom I most trusted, and whose support I had every right that the most sincere affection, the most implicit confidence, unbounded reliance, and invariable attachment could give, to depend on. But one more short word on this point of the subject of dismissals: When were those dismissals made, and when announced to the British Cabinet? When did the criminality and the enormity of the offence first commence? It was when, under the credit of my Administration, perhaps derived in part from these very causes, the Parliament had submitted to unparalleled burthens, not solely for the purpose of providing for the internal security of this kingdom by the most ample and formidable military establishment, but likewise by lending its assistance to the empire at

large in the hour of its greatest distress, by aids great and munificent beyond all precedent. Then commenced the breach of all faith and agreement on my part—then, and not till then, did these dimissals assume the character of heinous, unpardonable criminality. Then did my Administration become mischievous and ruinous to the kingdom, dangerous to His Majesty's service, and subversive of the supremacy of English Government in Ireland.*

FITZWILLIAM.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD TO MR. BERESFORD.

Merrion Square, March 23rd, 1795.

DEAR FATHER,—Lord Fitzwilliam has now settled his departure for Wednesday next. He sent Sir Boyle Roche^b this morning to the Dublin Gazette Office, and directed him to put a notice in to-morrow's paper that he means to hold a levee on Wednesday morning, previous to his departure, and that he sets out precisely at noon on that day to embark. This, which Sir Boyle communicated to several persons, created much alarm,

* The remaining portion of this letter relates to the Catholic question, which, considering its great length, and that the whole has been already published, it is deemed unnecessary to insert here.

^b Sir Boyle Roche, Gentleman Usher and Master of the Ceremonies at the Castle; better known for his extraordinary propensity to jokes and bulls than for political importance; M.P. for Gowran 1776; for Portarlington 1783; for Tralee 1790; for Old Leighlin 1796; created Baronet 1782; died 1806.

and he returned to His Excellency to beg he would think better of it.

The Bishop of Ossory was with the Lord-Lieutenant, and joined in thinking it imprudent, but Grattan and the Duke of Leinster spoke to him apart, and Sir Boyle then received positive directions to take the message, which he requested to have in writing. The press was set to work, and the notice known through the town, exciting alarm in every reasonable mind.

The Chancellor pressed His Excellency to go off privately; stated the difficulty which must occur if a riot took place; that an interregnum must occur, during which the Lords Justices could not act; and that a Liberty mob, as he knew, was prepared to accompany him. His Excellency answered that all that was very disagreeable, but how could he help it? The Chancellor pressed him to send a message to Parliament, desiring an adjournment, which he positively refused. The Chancellor told him he would positively refuse to accept of the Government if he did not send the message, and the Primate is resolved to do likewise.

At half-past three to-day, Lord Milton having interfered, a message was sent to the printer of the Gazette to stop the notice, but it is now too late. Lord Dillon went to the Bishop of Ossory, and stated his opinion of the impropriety of Lord Fitzwilliam subjecting the city to the chance of riot. The Bishop answered, "that he was apprehensive of riot, but upon deliberation His Excellency's friends were of opinion, if it took place, it could not be laid at his door." Lord Fitzwilliam has directed forty-four copies to be made of his second letter

to Lord Carlisle, in order to have it generally circulated. I saw it to-day, and think it so imprudent a performance that Lord Carlisle will hardly make the use of it which he has desired, and show it everywhere.

He begins by stating, that in all the conversations relative to the Catholic question had before he left England, Ministers considered the Catholics entitled to all that they sought, but that it was expedient to keep the business back as much as possible; that he was left a discretionary power on the subject; that upon coming over he found that the Committee of the Catholics had determined to petition; and that finding he could not keep it back, he gave such answers as did not pledge him, and wrote to the English Ministry to apprise them of the situation of the country, and asked for more definite directions for his conduct on that head; that he did so particularly in the letter in which he communicated the dismissal of Wolfe, and then requested directions pressingly on the Catholic business; but that, though he had received an answer to the part of the letter relating to Wolfe, he had not had one word relating to the Catholics in reply; that he never received instructions on that head till he put it to Mr. Pitt whether he chose to have Lord Fitzwilliam as Lord-Lieutenant, or Mr. Beresford as Chief Commissioner; that Mr. Pitt made his election without hesitation, and after having done so, the Catholic question was then first brought forward as a subject of accusation against him.

He endeavours to show that the real cause of his recall was your dismissal and his endeavours to counteract the system of corruption by former Governments.

He states that he had a full determination when he came over to pull down the Beresfords and raise the Ponsonbys, but he thinks it unnecessary to vindicate his character from personal good wishes towards his own connections, and he states his reasons pretty freely. He says Mr. Pitt had determined, from the moment he had committed the Duke of Portland's friends to the Coalition, to degrade such as could not be made his dupes; that he knew that he could not make him his tool, and therefore was determined to ruin him; that, in pursuance of his plan, he had given him up to a man whom he did not regard, and had preferred Mr. Beresford to Lord Fitzwilliam; and concludes with asserting it to have been a determined scheme of Mr. Pitt to ruin him. In the course of his letter he betrays his secret instructions, and states them with inverted commas. He says, that in one despatch the Secretary of State writes "by delaying the Catholic question till the peace, he may render a greater service to the Empire at large than any it has experienced since the Revolution," and mentions another passage from his despatches, which evidently points to an Union. These passages are such as induce me to think that Lord Carlisle may not consider himself justified to make this letter public, notwithstanding Lord Fitzwilliam's imprudent desire to that effect.

On Saturday last the Whig Club published, in the "Dublin Evening Post," an unqualified approval of Mr. Grattan's answer to the Catholics. They entered into another resolution approving of the Addresses, expressing regret at the removal of Lord Fitzwilliam, and at the return to power of those men who would renew the

system of violence, venality, &c., &c. Mr. Ponsonby was in the chair; Mr. Conolly signed as secretary.

Yours affectionately and dutifully,

M. BERESFORD.

LORD FITZ GIBBON, LORD CHANCELLOR, TO
MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, March 26th, 1795.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I sent copies of Lord Fitzwilliam's letters to his friend Lord Carlisle, by the post of last night, to Lord Westmoreland; of course you may, if you wish it, get them transcribed in his hands. The more I consider the flagrant and unwarrantable calumnies which he deals out so flippantly against you, the more I am decided in my opinion that you ought in the first instance to bring an action against him for defamation, and lay it in the City of London. He had fifty copies of this Memoir made out by the clerks in the different offices in the Castle, which were distributed, by his order, for the last three days of his stay in Ireland. Jephson^a applied to him for a copy yesterday, and he promised to send him one from England, not having any of the Irish edition undisposed of.

I think you may fairly call upon Lord Carlisle, if necessary, to give evidence, upon the trial of your action, of the writing and publishing this letter.

He desires Lord Carlisle to make it public, and he takes care to make this unnecessary, if Lord Carlisle had not thought fit to comply with his request, by dis-

^a Denham Jephson. M.P. for Mallow

tributing more than fifty copies himself about the city of Dublin.

You may also fairly write to Lord Fitzwilliam, if you should determine to take this course, and inform him that you had thought it advisable to take this step to vindicate your character—as he may plead, in justification of the charges, that they are true, and prove the truth of them if he can. One broad fact must damn him on this subject for ever. *He landed here on Sunday evening, and was confined to his room by indisposition for the whole of the next day. On Wednesday Mr. Bowes Daly was sent to you. So that he had one day only to inquire into the multiplied acts of malversation which he alleges against you as his justification for wishing to remove you.* He also takes occasion to accuse you of duplicity to Mr. Pitt.

How he will be able to justify his flagrant breaches of public duty and private faith in publishing a passage of most grave and serious import, contained in a private and confidential despatch received by him from the Duke of Portland—how he will be able to answer it to the British Ministry, whilst he was actually Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, issuing a manifesto to the “good people of this country,” recommending to them to pursue a measure of his, which had been condemned unanimously by the English Cabinet, and for which he was, in his own phrase, deposed—how he will answer it to that Government to proclaim to the good people of Ireland that the supplies voted by Parliament were the stipulated price of that measure, and that the discontent arising from his recall will be repressed only by arms—is to be determined on

his arrival in England. In his expectation of commotion most certainly he will be disappointed. I am confident the country will immediately be restored to perfect quiet and composure.

Yours always truly,
My dear Beresford,
FITZ GIBBON.

LORD WESTMORELAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

London, March 31st, 1795.

DEAR SIR,—I received from the Chancellor Lord Fitzwilliam's Memoirs, and as soon as I can get them copied they shall be sent to you. I shall be obliged to you for any observations that occur to you upon them.

In speaking of you in his first letter he says, "it would have been connecting himself with a person labouring under heavy suspicions, and subjecting his Government to the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant on his mal-administration;" and again, "it would leave in much power and authority so much imputed malversation;" but you will see the whole.

The Chancellor and Lord Waterford seem disposed to advise you to an action, or at least to take the opinion of counsel.

We had little about Ireland yesterday, but shall have a full display when Lord Fitzwilliam reaches town.

Grattan's answer, with the explanation of the Me-

moirs, is most curious. I shall be glad to hear from you as soon as you receive the papers.

I am yours sincerely,

WESTMORELAND.

Lord Waterford relies that Lord-Lieutenants will, in the House of Lords, do you justice; in which you will not be disappointed if opportunity offers.

LORD BUCKINGHAM TO MR. BERESFORD.

Buckingham House, April 8th, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was unwell yesterday, and could not thank you for your obliging letter. You well know the interest which I take in the political situation of Ireland, and in the personal situation of a friend whom I love to honour as truly as I do Lord Fitz Gibbon. This paltry attack is upon every account exactly what he ought to have wished, as it tends to establish a fact which, though as clear as the light, would always have been denied but for some such overt act. If I am to judge from the Catholic eclogues (not quite Virgilian) between the Committee and the Duke of Leinster, Messrs. Grattan, Conolly, Ponsonby, Knox, and Donoughmore (*cantare pares et respondere parati*), I should imagine the real hopes of the Committee are but low. In moments of great irritability and intemperance it is difficult to judge from the representations of those who are most eager; but when I think I see much exertion of every sort made to excite and maintain a popular

ferment, the writings which are intended to produce that effect are a very sure criterion of the cause which they support. I, too, have read Lord Fitzwilliam's two letters. The wisest man, King Solomon, saith, in the bitterness of his heart, and with every feeling of exasperation, "Oh that mine enemy had written a book!" but in the moment of his most sanguine wishes he did not dare to hope for that advantage from his enemy which yours has given you in "writing two books." They will produce great mischief, and, therefore, I wish they had not existed; but as a monument of one whose Administration (if I can call his short dream by that name) I execrate, I cannot but be gratified in seeing it in the hands of everyone—an Administration

"Allowing him a breath, a little scene,
To monarchise, be feared, and kill with looks,
Infusing him with self and vain conceit.
- Farewell king!"

As to your personal share in those two performances, it is a point on which I can say nothing but that I do not recognise Mr. Beresford, either as a public or a private man, in any part of the portrait drawn for him.

But the mischief of this publication must be met in both kingdoms; and perhaps it is better that it should be met, as it certainly will be, on different grounds here and in Ireland. Here, much of the question must depend upon the manner in which it is brought forward to discussion in Parliament. From various circumstances I think that Lord Fitzwilliam will not think it necessary to say a word, unless he is attacked. The

question then will be, whether Government or Opposition will think it advisable to press this subject, with the certainty, however, that in proportion as the former appear to shrink from it, the latter will press it.

I trust that a short residence at Bath will re-establish Mrs. Beresford; and I am happy that by chance she has escaped a scene which would have hurried her so much. I have now no doubt that everything will be quiet in Dublin in a short time; though I think it probable that the mob may be again misled to riot whenever Parliament rejects or postpones the Bill for realising "the full extent of the Catholic expectations."

I am, dear Sir, always, and with the truest regards,
your very faithful and obedient servant,

NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.

LORD CARLISLE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Grosvenor Place, 17th April, 1795.

DEAR SIR,—The enclosed letter to Lord Fitzwilliam, which terminated our correspondence upon public business, will sufficiently explain my motives for writing it, as well as those which incline me to make a communication of it to you. After what has passed in regard to other letters concerning the unfortunate turn things took during his Government, I have been obliged to put the enclosed into too many hands to retain the wish

that it may be considered of a secret or confidential nature.

I am, dear Sir, with great esteem, yours most sincerely,

CARLISLE.

(Enclosed.)

LORD CARLISLE TO LORD FITZWILLIAM.

April 17th, 1795.

DEAR FITZWILLIAM,—A friendship which commenced in the earliest period of youth, and which I trust will only cease with the termination of life, would readily supply sufficient excuse for heavier difficulties than those imposed upon me in consequence of the two letters addressed to me, in answer to mine of the 21st of February, finding their way to the inspection of the public.

It is not easy for me to guess what idea the public may have formed of a letter which has produced such copious answers from you, and seemed to force you to a justification beyond the limits of a secret and confidential correspondence.

In turning to that letter, I think you will perceive nothing, besides my zeal for your welfare and interest, which could have prompted me to the communication and disclosure of such opinions on the opening of your Administration, as I was enabled to gather, and to which (however erroneously or correctly conceived) it appeared to me that you ought not to have remained a stranger.

If my poor sentiments could have been collected by

you at the dawn of your Administration, and which it was not my intention to obtrude upon you, they could only be discovered in my fears that you had adopted a system difficult to recede from or abandon before you had been long enough near the source of real information confidently to take by your own scale the just measure of its size and magnitude. God knows, I never meant (though writing hastily I might express myself inaccurately) to pronounce with arrogance on the great measures themselves then in your contemplation to advance, but with diffidence left the conception and consideration of their probable effects to the judgment of your near political connections, capacitated by their situations and knowledge to trace and pursue their tendencies and bearings, and who, report did not scruple to assert, were both surprised and alarmed at the rapidity with which these great objects were approached.

I stated to you that a general belief prevailed, that in your final arrangements and concluding conversation with His Majesty's Ministers, at which others assisted, it was settled that no material measures either as to persons or things, was to be decided upon without further communication and concurrence with the Cabinet of England. I might have added that this the more easily obtained in the world, from the obvious necessity that the most perfect and harmonious understanding should prevail between the Governments of both countries as to their system of rule, an understanding always necessary, but more particularly so at this moment, when both have objects of such importance and joint interest before

them as demand a suspension at least of everything not intrinsically connected with them.

As to the sudden dismissal of certain individuals, who had not had the opportunity, if you could suppose they had the will, to offend against your Administration, I certainly had not the same anxiety to keep back my sentiments upon that step. Justice to some of those persons who during my Government served the public with fidelity, honesty, and ability (I mean Mr. Beresford, &c., &c.), demanded of me a less cautious mode of expression; and in truth your subsequent reasoning upon those dismissals calls upon me to say a word or two upon this subject.

Of the alarming power to Government of the Beresford family or followers, I pretend not to form a comprehension; nor can I conceive how any Lord-Lieutenant, standing upon your high ground, challenging the public confidence by the undisguised fairness of your good intentions, could ever be destitute of the means to crush any power (but particularly that which derived the essence of its strength from office) whenever such power presumed to stir a hair-breadth in an attempt to molest the Government of the kingdom in that road in which, for the public interest, it thought fit to travel. But till that vain and mischievous disposition should have manifested itself, I clearly leaned to the opinion that the hand of superior strength ought not to be stretched out against it.

You say to me, in regard to some others, "You left them clerks, I found them ministers." When and how

this metamorphosis happened, I am unable to conjecture. That I left them most usefully employed for the ease of their principal, and for the quick despatch of business, is unquestionably true. With long habits of intercourse with men, both in high and in subordinate official situations, for unsuspected integrity and secrecy, for mildness and conciliating manners, for the most perfect arrangement and method in conducting the business of his office, I can fairly say that I never witnessed the equal of Mr. Sackville Hamilton. Mr. Cooke was, in my time, young, but quick, diligent, and very promising as a useful person in the station he then filled.

Respecting others with whom I never had any connection, and who were to remove from the elevated situations of their profession, you call upon me to admit the propriety of such removals on the foot of having from necessity a splendid parliamentary debater annexed to the condition of a great law servant of the Crown. Indeed, my dear Fitzwilliam, I subscribe to no such opinion; and, in vindication of a very opposite one, refer you to the example of many men on this side the water, whose acknowledged abilities and learning would have been lost to the State had they been driven from their situations because they made not the same brilliant figure in the senate which they had done at the bar.

I have dwelt the longer upon this part of the subject to show you how fairly a different opinion may be opposed to yours, and that such may be conscientiously entertained without any design to wound your feelings or injure your reputation. In Mr. Pitt's endeavour to hold up a shield for the shelter of persons who had

merited the favour of the last Lord-Lieutenant by their services, and on whose conduct no blame or censure had attached, I can only perceive an instance of firmness and of justice; and surely it requires explanation to convince plain and impartial men that such removals, taking the mode, time, and provocation, were not at least a seeming departure from that amicable dealing towards the King's Prime Minister which we at a distance were taught to hope and believe was to mark the junction of your party with Mr. Pitt.

I dwell upon it for another motive which touches me more personally. By the extensive dispersion of your letters, I find myself the conductor of severe animadversion where I cannot agree that it ought to have been directed. To have consented to have been the bearer of such sharp invective to the doors of the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, &c., &c., I must previously have acknowledged the justice of it before I undertook so painful an office: but acknowledging its justice, could I stop there, and continue an independent support of a Minister capable of the monstrous design of risking the condition of Ireland, of flinging it into the greatest probable confusion by trifling with its hopes and expectations, for the purpose of weakening a party of whose strength and importance he confessed the value by invitation and acceptance, and which strength and importance in the public estimation must be as necessary for his purposes at this moment as the first hour you flung your weight into his scale?

Such are the difficulties I allude to in the beginning of my letter: in the first place, that of appearing by

silence to adopt that censure I am made to convey ; in the next of submitting my sentiments freely to you, and thus approaching a matter of a most delicate nature, where the public curiosity ought not to be conducted, with any observance of that discretion and secrecy which my education has led me to consider as not to be dispensed with in great transactions of government.

On the great question of the additional indulgences at this time to be extended to the Roman Catholics, I shall say but little. The sentiments of an individual would, in this place, obtrude themselves very clumsily. I shall hope to be believed when I assert that I have toleration, not only upon my lips, but in my heart ; and that in my experience I never witnessed anything in the Roman Catholics of Ireland that gave me a moment's doubt of their loyalty and attachment to their Sovereign. That an unfortunate difference on the subject of more indulgences to be granted at this moment has been raised between you and the Cabinet of England, we all know and all deplore. But you are much mistaken if you think that the world, endeavouring with very inadequate means to detect on which side the error or misapprehension lies, even supposing it should be suspected to be with you, has ever aimed any censure at your head which made it necessary for you to appear at the tribunal of the public, and to open a defence in my mind unprovoked by accusation from any quarter, forcing you to advance, upon such tender and delicate ground, to points generally not considered accessible, unless where an attack upon life is meditated, or what I feel is dearer to you, fame and honour.

You allude to a part of my letter where, joining in the general anxiety as to the precipitancy with which your great measures seemed to be brought forth, I confessed that I could not contemplate the innovation without terror. Always being taught to consider the Roman Catholic question as of great moment, it was not extraordinary that the quickness with which you decided upon it (I mean not to arraign that prompt decision) should have occasioned a strong shock of alarm to me, however incompetent to direct an accurate view to its near or its remote consequences.

Under every circumstance of disagreement in opinion, of a nature less reasonably interesting the attention of the political world, violent surmises will be formed on both sides, which candour and moderation would lose their labour in attempting to reconcile. Doctor Barrow says, every fact has two handles—one, which severity, ill-nature, and harshness are ever inclined to lay hold of, the other constantly presents itself to calmness, moderation, and gentleness: I shall address myself to the latter, not the former, to gather and submit to you the judgment which I conceive candid and honourable men have formed upon these unfortunate transactions.

In many parts of your letter, if I mistake not, it may be collected that, owing to the circumstances of the times, the pressure of business produced by the war, and the necessity of pointing all thought, as well as all exertion, towards the defence of the empire, it was a general wish to postpone the consideration of the merits of the Roman Catholic question to a moment better

fitted for a less interrupted investigation of it. Of course, excepting otherwise driven by necessity, we should have seen you acting at least in unison with the views of the English Cabinet, had you terminated the session of Parliament with this point still reserved for future consideration. You, for the reasons which you have assigned, conceive that necessity to be so apparent and so strong as to leave you, in policy and prudence, no choice or remedy. Upon this point the whole matter seems to hinge. The public, turning towards the English Administration for explanation, discover them questioning that necessity which you consider as irresistible. Great stress is laid upon the impossibility of utterly preventing this discussion, from some quarter or another, being forced upon the Houses of Parliament.

That some one eager in the cause would infallibly stir it, though Mr. Grattan had held back, was clearly to be foreseen. But as in that case the argument for suspending might have been adopted by those who were inclined to fall into the views of both the Lord-Lieutenant and the English Minister, it did not seem to follow that, on such ground, a person so high in name and reputation, and so closely connected with the Castle, was impelled to seize that hour for giving notice of his Bill, sustained by Government and its adherents.

Still keeping clear of an impertinent obtrusion of my own sentiments upon the great question itself, I only take as an hypothesis that the King's Ministers did not, in their judgments, yield to that *necessity* which you state as sufficiently powerful with you to determine you no longer to restrain yourself to those limits within

which it appears, at least for the time, it was the wish of your political connections that you should have confined yourself; and from this, we guess, has arisen that fatal misunderstanding which has deprived Ireland of so much honour and integrity, the King of a faithful servant—has loosened the bonds of the closest friendship—has carried the poison of distrust and resentment into houses never before at variance—and conveyed a heavy charge indeed to the doors of His Majesty's Ministers.

May I, my dear friend, in this place be permitted to say that, weighing every part of this subject in the most dispassionate and impartial manner I am able, I never heard the sound of accusation of your conduct in any quarter, perceived no attack aimed against your character, no stain endeavoured to be fixed upon your reputation, no abandonment of private friendship or affection, no wretched symptom of that refined dissimulation, which you fancy you have detected. In short, nothing that wore the shape of accusation or charge which brought you to the painful alternative of repelling or submitting to.

Under the strong feeling of a repugnance (which I am confident you will comprehend and excuse) to lend myself, with a silence that might argue willingness, to become the channel of censure to individuals who had acted serviceably and honourably by me—to others, whose conduct I have had opportunity of watching, and still retain my opinion of their unshaken friendship and attachment to you; lastly, to others on whom I could not assist at heaping such disgrace without holding them out at the same time as utterly unfit for the high

stations they fill—I have been obliged thus tediously to trespass on your patience, an apology for which can only be looked for and found in that friendship I before alluded to, and which has, for so many years past, taught us indulgence to each other.

Believe me, yours ever sincerely,

CARLISLE.

LORD FITZ GIBBON TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, Saturday, 18th April, 1795.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—My friends, who took Mr. Grattan's hint as to the necessity of removing me, were certainly within half an inch of performing the service so warmly recommended to them. If the stone which was aimed at my head, and which, by the mere weight of it, in grazing my forehead cut it to the bone, had struck me directly, it must have fractured my skull, though it had been solid as any in the noble house of Fitzgerald.

With respect to the step which I recommended to you to take, the only facts necessary to be stated on your part to Bearcroft will be, the length of time for which you have served the Crown, and the defamatory passage contained in Lord Fitzwilliam's letters. If he thinks fit to justify, he must plead the specific acts of malversation upon which he rests his charge against you. If he should plead not guilty generally, he cannot, on the trial of the action, enter into any justification of the charges.

The more I consider the subject, the more clearly it appears to me that you cannot pass by the atrocious calumnies, which he has published against you most certainly to gratify the spleen and malice of him and his friends and Ministers.

If Bearcroft should be of opinion that his publication is not actionable, I think that Auckland's idea is by no means a bad one—that you should write a letter to Lord Carlisle, for which you have abundant materials, with a request to him to publish it; and as in this instance he will probably decline your request, as I am told he declined Lord Fitzwilliam's, you may take the same course to make your correspondence public of which his Lordship has set you the example. Lord Dillon has closed his Committee, and the report is to be taken into consideration on Tuesday next. His idea seems to be to ratify everything which has been done, and to prevent the bargain from being further executed by the Commissioners. Most certainly abundant evidence is reported to justify the Commissioners in what they did. If the covenant is not such a contract as they were warranted by the Act of Parliament to make, the Attorney-General, under whose opinion they acted, is to answer that objection. I am confident that nothing unpleasant with respect to the Commissioners is meant by Dillon, or will pass in our House on Tuesday. This country is not in rebellion, notwithstanding the seasonable, manly, and constitutional efforts of Lord Fitzwilliam and his Ministers to rouse the people to a just sense of their rights and his wrongs. The Seceders, as he calls them, or in plain English the rational and

respectable Catholics, are now extremely anxious that Mr. Grattan should desist; but in this he will no doubt judge for them, and proceed to emancipate them whether they wish it or not.

Yours always truly,

My dear Beresford,

FITZ GIBBON.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD CARLISLE.

Bath, 27th April, 1795. i

MY DEAR LORD,—I had the honour of your Lordship's letter, enclosing a copy of that which you wrote to Lord Fitzwilliam on the 17th of April, in answer to those very extraordinary letters which his Lordship had addressed to you.

Your Lordship will give me leave, in the first place, to return you my sincere thanks for your obliging communication; and further, to assure you that I feel the highest satisfaction in finding that I continue to hold a place in your Lordship's esteem, an honour I have ever been proud of, and which I trust I never shall forfeit by any improper conduct of mine.

The unwarrantable attacks and insinuations against me contained in Lord Fitzwilliam's letters might have raised my indignation or affected my feelings had I not, in the first place, been perfectly conscious of my own innocence, and in the next, been very certain that insinuations of such a nature, coming from a man totally

unacquainted with me and my character, and taking his impressions from others without caution or reserve, could never have weight in the scale of public opinion against the evidence of those noblemen and gentlemen under whose Administrations I have had the honour of serving Government for twenty-seven years, many of whom have had long and intimate acquaintance with me, both in public and in private life, and upon whose justice and friendship I find I did not in vain rely when I assured myself that they would not omit an opportunity of stating my real character and conduct ; and I have remained the more easy in my mind from a certainty that such an opportunity could not be wanting in the investigations that were to be expected in Parliament.

Whatever might have been my sentiments upon the first reading of his Lordship's letters, upon a cool and deliberate review of them I thought that, where it was evident to the meanest capacity who read them that the impression of my character was taken by his Lordship on this side of the water, and not from inquiries made from those persons who had been in the Government of Ireland, and who could have given him the surest information, that he carried his prejudices over with him to Ireland, and acted upon them within forty-eight hours after his arrival, without further inquiry or investigation, endeavouring with all his power to remove me from office, and having failed in the attempt, that his letters to your Lordship, so far as they relate to me, were dictated by passion in the hour of disappointment,—I thought, I say, that they were unworthy of my notice ; that they were calculated, not to expose me, but their

author, and ought to be treated by me with silent contempt.

I shall not attempt to trouble your Lordship with a vindication of myself, or a refutation of the vague and general charges made against me; let the inquiry into the management of the Revenue, set on foot in the Irish House of Commons, acquit or condemn me. I shall not presume to anticipate their judgment.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, with great truth and regard, your much obliged and very faithful, humble servant,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Weymouth Street, 29th April, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received your letter, enclosing yours to Lord Carlisle. Nothing could be more proper, and I must add, dignified, as your conduct to Government in office at all periods so perfectly corresponds with it.

Lord Fitzwilliam seems to have been imposed upon from the beginning by his new allies, and with all the efforts of Opposition here to co-operate with that in Ireland will, I hope, be defeated.

You shall hear from me when the Exhibition to-morrow is over. I am happy to hear that the prejudices in Ireland so much subside; that Jackson is condemned; and more so, that the evidence leads to further good consequences—to the detection of a correspondence with

Horne Tooke and others, which if known here in time, they would have met their deserts. We have been sincerely anxious for our dear friend, and are happy to hear she is better, and fervently hope to see her here soon, perfectly recovered. I had great reliance on the Bath waters, and will not despair of their good effects.

We are in pain for our West Indian Islands, and not a little for the remains of our infantry from the Continent, still at sea.

With best wishes, your affectionate and obliged friend,

TOWNSHEND.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD TO MR. BERESFORD.

Merrion Square, May 5th, 1795.

DEAR FATHER,—Our debate on the Catholic question did not end till half-past ten o'clock this morning. It was not only the longest, but the most uninteresting I ever witnessed. On our side, all the strong constitutional points were blinked completely. The debate degenerated into abuse of the Catholics, and attempts to connect them, through Tone, with the United Irishmen, Jackson's treason, &c., &c. Toler opened the debate; he was to have stated the Acts of Parliament that bore upon the question, the nature of the compact in 1782, Yelverton's Act, &c. He certainly stated all the Acts at great length, detailed the nature of the settlement under the Duke of Portland, launched into panegyric of

his Grace of the most extravagant nature, spoke for above two hours, and left the question without an attempt to argue it, but concluded with a vehement assertion that the Bill could not be carried without the repeal of the Bill of Rights, the breach of the Coronation Oath, and of the compact between the two countries. The other side was even with him; for they as positively asserted the contrary. The best speakers on our side were Robert Stewart,* Luke Fox, and Robert Johnson; but they more animadverted on other men's arguments than brought forward anything new of their own. Robert Stewart is more improved than anybody could conceive. He gave George Ponsonby, who attacked his speech, a very neat cutting, under the pretence of explanation, and managed matters so as not to be interrupted for exceeding the bounds of explanation. We divided at half-past ten, A.M.: for the Bill, 84; against, 155. I have not been in bed. I kept my determination not to speak, owing to what Lord Waterford wrote to you—though I was better prepared than I ever had been.

I felt my situation very disagreeable, as I had taken a strong part, when Lord Fitzwilliam was here, to throw out the Bill; and those with whom I had acted called on me to take my part, and I was forced to the explanation of Lord Waterford and I not agreeing on the question.

I am quite tired and stupified, and hardly can write. I hope to hear better accounts of my mother. If the difficulty in breathing continues, I would rather rely on

* Robert Stewart, afterwards Lord Castlereagh.

Warren's and Turton's opinions of her case than on any Bath doctor, though he saw her daily.

Yours affectionately and dutifully,

M. BERESFORD.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD TO MR. BERESFORD.

Merrion Square, May 22nd, 1795.

DEAR FATHER,—I received yours of the 17th, containing the very alarming account of my mother's situation, which shocked Lady Frances and me very much indeed. I have felt considerable anxiety for some time past on her account; but had no idea that her situation was so dangerous. Quin^a did not seem to me to be apprehensive that there was anything critical in her disorder.

The House has adjourned to the 5th of June; and to-morrow I go out of town with the Chancellor to Mount Shannon, and return on the 4th, to be present in the House on the 5th.

Yours ever dutifully,

M. BERESFORD.^b

^a Dr. Quin was the leading physician in Dublin of that day.

^b Mrs. Beresford expired on the 29th of May, and a cessation of correspondence, except on necessary private business, ensued for some time.

MR. BEBESFORD TO LORD FITZWILLIAM.

22nd June, 1795.

MY LORD,—Your Lordship must have seen two letters to Lord Carlisle which have been published in your name, and in general circulation. I have for a long time hoped that they would be disavowed or explained by your Lordship. I was unwilling to suppose that such a publication had ever been sanctioned by you. I could not bring myself to believe that your Lordship, possessing the feelings of a man and the honour of a gentleman, could avail yourself of the power and trust which had been committed to you by His Majesty wantonly to traduce a private character by insinuations expressed in terms so vague and so unqualified as to make it impossible publicly to refute them. From the rank which you hold in society I must presume, if you thought it your duty to impeach my conduct as a servant of the Crown, you would have adopted the fair and manly course of advancing direct and specific charges against me, which must have led to my conviction if they had been founded. Direct and specific charges I could fairly have met and refuted ; but crooked and undefined insinuations against private character, through the pretext of official discussion, your Lordship must allow are the weapons of a libeller. The publication in question stated that you recommended my removal from office, “because I was a person under universal and heavy suspicions, subject to the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant on mal-administration and much imputed malversation.”

The aspersions contained in this paragraph are so utterly ungrounded, so unprovoked, so unmanly, and so false, that I could not believe your Lordship could have meant to apply them to a gentleman by birth your equal, and, I will tell you, of reputation as unsullied as your own at any period of your life. There is no charge, however monstrous, of which the idea is not here conveyed, and yet there is none to which the paragraph points directly, so as to afford an opportunity for vindication.

Your Lordship will, I trust, feel the justness of the warmth with which I express myself on these aspersions of my character, and that when I give the lie to such aspersions I give it upon reasons as essential to your honour as they are to mine ; and if anything were wanting to induce me to believe that your Lordship will concur with me in this opinion, I should be satisfied of it from the communications which were made to me by persons authorised to convey your Lordship's sentiments upon my projected removal from the Board of Revenue, and from the official communications made to me by Lord Milton on the same subject.

Considerations of domestic calamity might sufficiently explain the silence I have hitherto observed, but in other respects I should have been unwilling, perhaps, to have addressed you sooner ; I would not appear to avoid any inquiry into my conduct which insinuations, originating from such high authority, might be expected to provoke. It became me, therefore, to await with patience the result of the discussions respecting Irish affairs, which were taking place in both Parliaments, and even till the

close of the session had shown that it was not your Lordship's intention, nor that of either House, to take any further steps in the business. I cannot now repent of my forbearance, as it served at least to bring forward testimonies most highly honourable to me, from many individuals of the first weight and character in the age in which we live ; these testimonies having been so repeatedly and so publicly urged in your Lordship's presence, and without contradiction on your part, cannot but have convinced you that you had formed a wrong judgment respecting me, or that you had been deceived by others. In either case, I am entitled to hope, and to presume, that you will render to me and to my character that justice which one man of honour has a right to expect from another.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD FITZWILLIAM TO MR. BERESFORD.

Milton, 23rd June, 1795.

SIR,—I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 22nd this morning. The letters you allude to were written by me to Lord Carlisle, and those printed, though not printed by my direction, at my desire, or with my privity, I believe to be substantially copies of the letters I sent to Lord Carlisle, and certainly are so with respect to the quotation in your letter to me, which therefore I

cannot permit any person whatever to charge with falsity.

It is difficult for me to leave this place abruptly ; domestic considerations require a little management ; but I will be in town in the course of a few days, where I trust I may rely upon your remaining for the present.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient, and very humble servant,

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

LORD FITZWILLIAM TO MR. BERESFORD.

(Delivered by Lord George Cavendish.)

Sunday morning, 28th June, 1795.

SIR,—I have the honour to announce to you my presence in town. As I could not misunderstand the object of your letter, I have only to signify that I am ready to attend your call, and have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD BUCKINGHAM.

6th July, 1795.

MY DEAR LORD,—You had not left town half an hour when I called at your house, wishing to have

stated to you what had passed between Lord Fitzwilliam and me. I have waited since in hopes of being able to see you ; but finding from James Talbot that, as I set out on Wednesday for Ireland, I have no chance of seeing you, I am obliged to write.

In consequence of what had passed, I thought it necessary to call upon Lord Fitzwilliam, either to disavow or to explain in a proper manner the expressions he had made use of in the letters to Lord Carlisle, published in his name ; I therefore proceeded, as soon as the session was over, to write him a letter, in the civillest terms I could, desiring him so to do ; but as I was apprehensive that either he might not answer my letter, or if he did that he might say that he acted in his ministerial capacity, and did not consider himself answerable for what he did, which I understood was the language of his friends, I thought it necessary to make use of such expressions as to the offensive part of his letters as should either oblige him to take notice of them, or should expose him on my letter being seen. I therefore wrote to him the letter of which I send you a copy.* This letter exactly answered my purpose, for his Lordship took hold of the offensive expressions made use of, and wrote me the answer which I also enclose. In his answer he avows the paragraphs I quoted, but denies

* This letter to Lord Buckingham fully accounts for the communication from Mr. Beresford to Lord Fitzwilliam being found among Lord Buckingham's papers at Stow, and it shows how it got there. It is, however, strange that the letter itself in which it was enclosed was lost, or if not lost, that it was not at the same time published in the "Memoirs of the Court of George the Third."

they were published by his direction, at his desire, or with his privity, and adds that he will not permit any one to charge them with falsity, and says he will come to town in a few days, and desires me to stay for him. This was just what I wished, because it put the business on him.

This answer is dated 23rd June, and I heard not a word from him until eight o'clock on Sunday morning, the 28th, when Lord George Cavendish^a called upon me. He told me he was sorry to come upon so disagreeable a business, but Lord Fitzwilliam had come to town, and was then in a hackney coach in the neighbourhood, and ready to obey my call. I answered, that I had written a letter to his Lordship, in which I had given my opinion of the letters written by him to Lord Carlisle in such expressions as I thought they deserved, that his Lordship had taken offence at these expressions, and answered that he would not admit that the aspersions on my character contained in his letters were untrue; I had, foreseeing he would call upon me, desired Lord Townshend to accompany me in such case; and that it was therefore proper for me in the first instance to send for him. I accordingly went out, and sent Sir George Montgomery^b for him. While he was away, which was

^a Lord George Cavendish, second son of William, fourth Duke of Devonshire, and Lady Charlotte Boyle, daughter of Richard, third Earl of Burlington; born 1754; M.P. for the county of Derby; created, 1831, Earl of Burlington; married, 1782, Lady Elizabeth Compton, daughter of Charles, seventh Earl of Northampton; died 1834.

^b Sir George Montgomery, second son of Sir William Montgomery and of Miss Watts; half-brother to Mrs. Beresford; M.P. for Peeblesshire; succeeded as Baronet 1783; died 1831.

not above ten minutes, Lord George showed me a letter which Mr. Ford, a police magistrate, had written to Lord Fitzwilliam, dated two o'clock, Sunday morning. It stated that he had information that his Lordship was come to town to settle some difference with me, which his duty as a magistrate must oblige him to prevent. Lord George told me that in consequence of this letter Lord Fitzwilliam had left his house before seven o'clock by the back door, and was then in a coach. Sir George then returned, and I found that Lord Townshend could not come out before eleven o'clock. I therefore told Sir George of the letter, and of the necessity of going out directly, lest I should be arrested, and I asked him to accompany me, which he consented to. Lord George and he went out together to fix a place of meeting; while they were doing this, Lord George asked if they could not interfere. Sir George said that they might if Lord Fitzwilliam would make an apology. Lord George said that he would make any he could with propriety. Sir George returned to me, and we got into a coach and followed directly. When we came to the ground, the treaty was renewed, and drafts of an apology were drawn, which were not satisfactory to me. This took up time, during which a number of people gathered round us, suspecting what we were about. I doubt not there were fifty. We therefore were obliged to get into my coach and drive off. We went through Paddington about a mile and a half, and went into another field. They made one attempt more at an apology, which would not answer, and then Sir George measured the

ground, dropping a glove where he set out, and another where he stopped ; I went directly to the latter with my pistol, and his Lordship was walking to the former, and within two yards of it, when a magistrate called out to him by name, " Lord Fitzwilliam, I desire you will keep the peace, I am a magistrate !" His Lordship turned about much agitated, when he was arrested, and his pistol taken from him. I then walked to them, and gave my pistol to Sir George. Lord Fitzwilliam then turned to me and said, " Now, Mr. Beresford, that we have been prevented from finishing this business in the manner I wished, I have no scruple to make an apology," which he did, and hoped it would be satisfactory to me. Having said as much as it was possible for him to say, and having assured me that the letters were never meant for publication, he then repeated for the press, but only to be shown to those friends, who Lord Carlisle mentioned to have conceived certain opinions of his conduct ; that the expressions which he used arose from impressions he had received from those he conversed with, and were not intended to injure or relate to my private character. And considering that it was he who called on me, for the expressions in my letter to him, which he acknowledged in his answer to me of the 23rd, but which expressions he never mentioned then, or requested my apology for, I thought it right to accept of his apology to me, and put an end to the business. I therefore said, as matters stood, I should accept his apology. He then hoped that I would give him my hand, which I did, and he said, " Now, thank God, there is a complete end to my Irish

Administration;" and said something civil, purporting that he hoped we should meet again on more pleasant terms.

The report and conjectures of the town you will hear from others; I have only to add, that I do not wish to publish my letter, but have no objection to its being shown.

Your Lordship will give me leave to return you my sincere thanks for your kindness to me, upon this and every other occasion, and to assure you that I am, most sincerely and affectionately,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

J. BERESFORD.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. BERESFORD
TO MR. MARCUS BERESFORD.

28th June, 1795.

* * * *

I was called up at eight o'clock by Lord George Cavendish, and Lord Townshend not being ready, I was obliged to take Sir George Montgomery out with me, as Lord George Cavendish showed me a letter from the magistrate to Lord Fitzwilliam. I was therefore obliged to go directly.

* * * *

On the whole, Lord Fitzwilliam acted like a gentleman, seemed conscious that he had done what was not warrantable, and, as far as I could conjecture, was un-

willing to fire at me ; but this can only be conjecture arising from Lord George Cavendish wanting me to fire first.

* * * *

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 5th March, 1796.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—Yesterday ended the Committee of Inquiry into the conduct of the Commissioners of Wide Streets. After a continuance of twenty-nine days, the Committee came to an unanimous resolution that the Commissioners had in their bargain with Ottiwell acted fairly and honourably, and to the best of their judgment for the public advantage ; and the conductors of the business (who, by-the-bye, throughout acted with the utmost malice), were obliged to get up, and declare that the resolution had their strongest approbation, and that there was not the slightest foundation for those injurious aspersions which had been propagated. The whole of the evidence went most clearly to show that the bargain, when made, was an advantageous one for the public, and that the price given for the ground was a fair price at the time. The managers brought two witnesses, both of whom perjured themselves, and one of them is reported to the House and will, I take it, be sent to Newgate ; the other was proved to have sworn falsely, but it was more a matter of judgment, or pretended to be so, and therefore he was

not reported. My attorney, and two who acted for Ottiwell in his private affairs, were examined as to any deed of trust drawn up between him and any other person, and although not obliged to answer, they did so in the negative, to the great disappointment of the examiners. They then examined my private Secretary, if he had witnessed any such, and he also gave a decided negative. In short, no step was left untried which they thought would throw suspicion, but all has failed them, and they were obliged to state on their legs what I have written to you.

I should be glad to know what Lord Fitzwilliam will say to his friends who induced him to act as he did, and expose himself to the world. I promise you that the report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the collection of the Revenue will expose them full as much as that of the Committee of Wide Streets.

Every day brings out new light as to the wicked and abominable designs of the United Irishmen here. The late trials have proved their intentions of destroying individuals, servants of the Crown, the King, and all kings, to massacre Protestants, and overturn the State, and break off all connection with England. Part of their oath was to destroy all kings, to massacre all Protestants, and to be true to the French and Irish nations. Four have been convicted of treason on the clearest evidence, and ten of conspiring to murder. The plot is almost universal, and any man whom they suspect of giving information is to be murdered. One Smith was a principal evidence in the trial of the ten last convicted. He laid open a wide scene of treason, and what will perhaps surprise you

more, he swore that he gave full information of all he then swore, as to treason, in January, 1795, to Lord Milton, and some other gentlemen who examined him at the Castle; two of them had stars on their coats: and that no notice was taken of his information; that he was so much afraid of being murdered, that he enlisted in the artillery, where he has been ever since, and has now convicted these people. Opposition here is at an end. They cannot get more than about sixteen this year. All my family are remarkably well. I long to hear how Lady Auckland goes on, and all your family.

My dear Auckland, ever yours,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, March 28th, 1796.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have not yet acknowledged your letter of the 5th. I am less active and exact as a correspondent, having little to do in the world, than I was accustomed to be when I had half the business of Europe upon my hands, and this is a little in the nature of man. I have, however, had, during the last fortnight, a very bad cold, which has helped to make me idle. I am better to-day, and I am going with Lady Auckland to visit the Orange family at Hampton Court, and the young Princess, who is to return in a few days to the Continent (to Berlin), and therefore we are going this day to take leave of her.

Your letter of the 5th arrived very opportunely ; I gave it to our friend Rose, who carried it to Mr. Pitt. The latter had received an account that the inquiry was taking a turn disagreeable to you. I believe (but do not know it positively) that this account came from an officious and ill-informed friend of Lord Westmoreland, who a few days afterwards received a proper account of the transaction from Fitz Gibbon, which state was also sent to Mr. Pitt. After all, I am glad that this business is settled. If there is any printed report respecting it, pray let me have it.

That “unhappy nobleman” your late Viceroy hides himself and his unhappiness. I have not seen him these four months, except that he appeared in the House of Lords, but without speaking, on the day when a debate was expected relative to Burke’s pension.

I do not like the symptoms of ruffianism and revolt which show themselves in your Irish interior, but I trust to the same Providence which has so long preserved your country. I have often thought that Ireland is like a drunken man, who staggers unhurt and miraculously many a mile, amidst waters and precipices, without drowning himself or breaking his neck. That, however, is no reason for tempting Providence ; and I heartily wish that a radical cure could be given to your evils by diffusing prosperity, property, and instruction more equally among your people, so as to attach them to Government and civilisation.

I have nothing to say upon the subject of the war beyond what I said and printed five months ago (and which by-the-bye has gone through eleven editions in

different countries and languages); though the stocks are rising on the speculation of peace, I do not see one ray of hope for such an event. It may come suddenly, by the breaking down of the French Government, or by their avowing the failure of their finance measures, and an utter inability to go forwards; but in the meantime we are drawing near to a new campaign, and the Emperor is seriously preparing for it, and we *must help him*. I see a good deal of Mr. Pitt; he is at present at Holwood, but he comes to town to-morrow, and we dine together. His spirits are always equal and cheerful, and he is constantly at work.

Lady Auckland desires to be kindly remembered, she is in high spirits, and wandering through the nights with her daughters from one assembly and ball to another. The latter are grown tall and well formed, and meet with full as much admiration as I wish them to have.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

LORD WESTMORELAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Walmer, June 25, 1796.

DEAR SIR,—I received this morning yours of the 18th. Your kind manner of expressing yourself is very flattering to me. If you want any more of the same articles, and will inform me, I will take care they shall be sent to you. I was much hurt at the news of the

death of poor Conyngham ; was it not very sudden ? By the public appearance you at present seem very quiet in Ireland, but I have no doubt "*latet anguis in herbâ*," if the French should pay you a visit, to jump out with great vigour. I have read the trial of the conspirators to murder Hanlon, and a pretty history it is ; can you tell me who was the gentleman in boots that was with Glenan when Smith gave him an account that he had Hanlon ? and who was the gentleman in black, with a patch on his face, that formed one of the committee in Lord Milton's room to examine Smith ; was it G. Ponsonby ? We have been much alarmed at the story of an Austrian peace, which is, however, blown over ; and I saw yesterday a French paper, by which the French have received a severe check on the Lahn, if not been defeated.

Be kind enough to remember me to Lord Waterford, whose proxy I had the honour of giving very often last year, and to the Chancellor.

I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

WESTMORELAND.

Your arrangement seems to hang very long.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

August 28th, 1796.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Having received your letter when Mr. Pitt happened to be passing the day here, I

thought proper to put it into his hands, more especially as it contained so forcible a paragraph on the perilous predicament of Ireland. He considered it attentively. It is so momentous that it ought for the present to swallow up every other consideration, and if the disaffection and danger are such as you describe, everybody who has any influence, either in opinion or otherwise, should stand forward in time. In that case the alarm is salutary when not carried to the extent of discouraging. Our friend Rose has also communicated to me your letter to him. The Irish affairs have been for some time under the consideration of the Cabinet, and you will learn the result in part immediately; but the salvation of the country depends infinitely more on the exertions of all of you who are on the spot than upon anything that can be done or suggested from hence. Lord Fitzwilliam will have a melancholy topic of triumph over us all eventually. At any rate, I agree with you that it is a very awful moment, and that every possible precaution ought to be taken without delay.

Some precautions must be taken here for our own defence, but they will be of a very different colour and description, the people of Great Britain being in general zealous for the support of good government, and for the extermination of all French invaders. I am writing this letter in my library, with a mixture of company, and in as much noise as can be created by twenty young people, who care no more about the danger than I do about the troubles in a Chinese village. Let us hear from you again soon, and I will write more connectedly if anything occurs. Unless events should suddenly be such

as to force us to meet in September, which is not likely, we shall be appointed to meet towards the middle of October. It will be an unpleasant meeting, but will do good; and I hope that your Parliament will also meet soon. Our abundant harvest, and the consequent cheapness of bread, will operate more beneficially than half a dozen victories.

No more at present. Yours very affectionately,
AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Abbeville, 4th Sept., 1796.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I this day received yours of the 28th of August, in which you acknowledge mine, in which, I will promise you, there was nothing exaggerated. The informations which have come to Government, and which I suppose, and indeed know, have been transmitted to Administration, and the information you have in return sent us, but too plainly show the disagreeable situation that we are in; but, thank God, we are roused, and such measures are about to be pursued as will, I trust, put us into a very different situation. We have people enough to protect the country, if they were brought forward; measures are being taken for that purpose, and I trust that we shall be able to meet all our enemies. The arming the Protestants, who can be depended on, is now in everybody's mouth, and the wisdom of the measure appears from the confidence which it

raises in loyal subjects, and the dismay which it causes among traitors. Look into our democratic papers, and there you will see the pains and the labour used to run down or prevent the measure; it is the only thing they were afraid of. Their next attempt will be to graft upon it volunteer institutions, but this must not be suffered; the great danger we were in was from the common people, who were certainly all waiting to plunder if the French should land. The United Irishmen of the north, *alias* the Dissenters and the Defenders, and the Papists, would join them; these two classes are bound by oaths, &c., whilst the mob and common people, not sworn, would take advantage, and plunder everybody, and commit murders and such extravagances as are always the consequences of letting loose the rabble. The utmost pains have been taken by these devils, the United Irishmen, to prepare the minds of the different classes of the people for mischief. The public prints are of the most seditious and inflammatory species. They have a vast number of emissaries constantly going through the country, to seduce every person they can, and swear them; they have songs and prophecies, just written, stating all late events and what is to happen, as if made several years ago, in order to persuade the people that, as a great part of them has already come to pass, so the remainder will certainly happen. These and every other species of contrivance to mislead a silly and superstitious people they practise; and their view is to separate the two kingdoms: this is not a new idea, it has been a settled plan for many years; I have repeatedly, for a series of years,

stated this plan to be on foot, but no one would ever believe me ; now it is publicly avowed.

We must look to things as they are, not as they might or ought to be ; and in this point of view, I should hope, with the present idea of exertion, we may weather the storm. We have 20,000 army, and seven regiments coming ; it is true the Irish dragoons are suspected, but if they have a superior force about them they will act as they ought ; of the militia much suspicion is entertained. I cannot speak from knowledge, but from all I can gather there are some regiments ill-affected, viz. Westmeath, Queen's County, Kerry, Limerick city and county, and Longford ; others are riotous and ill-behaved, but from all I can find, the disaffection is not general in any of these regiments, and much depends, as I before said, upon the superior force around them ; if these regiments be so disposed of as to make them very inferior to the loyal troops around them, they will behave well—if they are so disposed of as that they have the field to themselves, they will misbehave.

The general state is, there are, or ought to be, 21,000 militia ; of these there exists about 19,000, of which about 4000 are Protestants. Of the other 15,000 I do really believe, from what I hear, that, except the regiments I have stated, so large a majority will do their duty that the remainder dare not attempt anything, particularly if joined, in large bodies, with the troops of the line : I speak my own opinion. I think, therefore, that we have an army equal to meet any invading enemy, even assisted by traitors at home ; but the danger is, as before stated, the common people. If the

loyal Protestants are armed they will keep the people in alarm ; they fear them already beyond idea or measure, and I have no doubt, if this measure be speedily carried into execution, that it will have the best effects.

The state of the country for defence against a foreign enemy properly prepared is, I fear, very inadequate, but everything is doing that can be done, and I hope we shall be prepared in time ; I am certain that the defenceless state we have been in was the ground on which our traitors founded their hopes. If ever we shall be a nation again, having surmounted our present difficulties, I hope and trust that some system of common sense will be adopted for this country ; and that it will not, as it has been heretofore, be left to chance and perpetual fluctuations.

So much for public politics, in which, you see, I do not despair so soon as I see exertion commence.

Should things turn out ill here, Lord Fitzwilliam will not have any reason to exult ; on the contrary, he is answerable for the whole mischief ; for although the fire was in existence, though latent, it was he who blew it up into a flame ; and actually set the people into motion against the King and English Government. His prophecies are like those of the United Irishmen ; he does the mischief first, and then prophecies that it will happen.

This is a sufficient bore, I conceive ; so I shall conclude with most affectionate compliments to all at Eden Farm.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Abbeville, 10th Sept., 1796.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I write to inform you that my little girl is getting better every day, and I hope will soon be quite well.

Things are getting on well here : a great confidence is arising among the well affected ; sufficient good men will be found to keep the country quiet, and to hold down certain people. A very pleasant occurrence happened the day before yesterday ; three regiments of militia, now in Dublin barracks—the Kilkenny (who led the way), the Tyrone, and North Mayo—turned out, and offered to serve in or out of the kingdom, wherever His Majesty thought they would be of most service ; and that they were ready to embark at any time at an hour's notice. Paddy is apt to follow example, and I make no doubt that other regiments will do the same. I do most sincerely wish that the offer was universal on your side of the water as well as here. If the militia of both countries were liable to serve in the two kingdoms, like fencibles, we need never fear for either, and this country would be connected for ever with Great Britain, and an end would be totally put to the hopes of the disaffected.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, September 22nd, 1796.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have not yet acknowledged your letters of the 4th and 10th instants. I was pecu-

liarly obliged to you for writing to me at so much length on the perils of Ireland, at the moment when your mind was engaged by the alarming attack of your daughter Anne. Lady Auckland, who saw both your letters, entered into this last subject of anxiety with much more eagerness than into the other.

The last has much relieved our apprehensions, and we hope soon to hear of her complete recovery. Our minds are much distracted in this country by the hurricane of great events which are crowding upon each other, and make it difficult to know how to estimate our position. The overture attempted, through Mr. —, to engage the King of Prussia to interfere effectually towards peace, totally failed.

To the application made for a passport to send a person direct to Paris, the Directory have not yet deigned to send any answer. In the meantime we know that they pretend to dismiss their army of the interior and on the coast they are nevertheless planning everything that can tend to an attack on both these islands. To this is superadded the Treaty which the King of Spain, to his eternal infamy, has concluded with the murderers of his family, and lastly, the very alarming accounts from Newfoundland. It is certain that a French fleet had arrived there with troops, which were landing on the 5th instant at Pelly Harbour. There is reason to fear that everything there will be taken, and the whole, including cargoes, cannot be estimated at less than a million sterling. Accounts are also received this evening that the French army have had further successes in Italy.

On the other hand, the progress of the Archduke, in a long list of victories, is continued with great rapidity. He has destroyed Jourdan's army, and there is every reason to believe that unless Moreau retreats he will have a similar fate. This may enable the Emperor to relieve Italy, and may give a very different turn to the pretensions of the French.

Under all these circumstances, I am glad to hear, by a letter from Mr. Pitt this evening, that we shall do no business in Parliament next week, except swearing in Members and choosing a Speaker, and that the King's Speech will not be till Tuesday se'nnight. There is reason to think that we could still end this frightful war with a balance of solid advantages if we had the national inclination and the pecuniary means to pursue it. As to the latter, at least, there will be very great difficulties. Do not say to anybody that I have acknowledged this.

You have not congratulated me on a supposed accession to a Cabinet office in consequence of Lord Mansfield's death; but everyone else has. I really believe that I have received fifty letters on that subject, and very embarrassing it has been to me to give answers to some of them, for I have known from the first that the arrangement must take a different turn, and yet I have not chosen to say that I have no pretension, for in private I think that I have the strongest claims and pretensions; nor that I would or would not accept the situation if it was offered. The fact is, that the habits of my life, and family considerations, would have induced me to accept it, though at present it is little desirable.

I really believe that the public in general would have been disposed to see me efficiently employed ; but the plain truth is that the temptation will not at present be put in my way.

Our friend Rose, with his usual kindness and good nature, writes to me to persuade me that everything friendly is meant towards me, and that I shall soon be told so.

I make no complaints, I say nothing. Mr. Pitt writes that he is coming to me on Sunday to spend the day. I suppose, however, that nothing will pass but what relates to public business ; and yet I really believe that there is the most cordial friendship in his disposition towards me, and he knows all my situation as well as I do. It is due to you that I give you all this long bore in confidence.

There is one good thing in the state of this country, and that is, that we have had a most plentiful harvest, and the subsequent season has been such as is most calculated to insure a continuance and increase of plenty.

All well under this roof. When your first letter came the Prince and Princess of Orange were passing a whole week here, and princes and princesses do require to be incessantly amused. I afterwards went, for two days, with my boys to Hampton Court and to Windsor, to replace them at Eton.

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Abbeville, Sept. 27th, 1796.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I received yours of the 22nd two days ago, but we have been in great distress at the death of Madame de Meyrol,* who departed on Tuesday night, after a tedious and painful illness, which she bore with a resignation that could only be the result of a well-spent life; not afraid to die, but rather wishing for it. I really regarded her with affection.

Our situation grows every day better here. We are getting well provided with the implements of war necessary for taking the field; the troops show every sign of loyalty, and although there may be a few militia men not well affected, yet I think that force will do their duty as they ought. Armed bodies under the King's commission are going on enrolling rapidly, and will be sufficient, I trust, to keep the country quiet.

The late successes on the Continent have quite depressed the spirits of the United Irishmen; several notorious members have been taken up and committed to jail, to the great dismay of their brethren; an effect which always follows exertion in this kingdom.

Loyal people, who were before afraid to appear, show themselves active, and I trust we shall have this country quiet whether we have a peace with France or not. The Jacobin papers have been doing everything possible to impede us, and to increase anarchy: they now wish to

* A French governess who had superintended the education of Mr. Beresford's daughters, and resided in his house for above 25 years.

throw open the armament to all sort of people. The events of the Continent, as far as the Archduke is concerned, have been happy and glorious, and I trust will finally extend to the armies of Moreau and Bonaparte. Considering the wickedness of the French Government, and the fears which they manifestly entertain of their armies returning, I do verily believe that they would not be displeased at the idea of their being destroyed.

God grant us peace at any rate, for how it is possible to carry on the war, at the expense which we are at, I know not. As to this country, our debt is in fact insignificant, but our means of raising money are very limited ; none is to be had here, and according as it is difficult for you in England to raise your supply, so in proportion our difficulties must increase. Newfoundland is a bad business, and will hang very heavy on our Waterford people, who are deeply concerned in that trade.

I have been a fortnight this day laid up with the gout, and a very handsome fit, I can assure you, it has been, and I suffered a good deal of pain for four days and nights, but I am now just able to limp with a stick. Lord Camden has just left me ; he showed me a letter from the Duke of Portland which gives great reason to believe the account of the victory of the 14th. God grant it may be true !

I come now to English politics, and I confess that I am very much disappointed at recent arrangements. I had flattered myself that you would have been included in the new appointments. I know not the reasons why this did not take place, and if I did I should probably

not be able to judge of it with strict impartiality. I have not seen Pelham,* but I have been laid up from the day he landed.

Whenever anything worth writing occurs, you shall hear from me again.

I am, most sincerely,
Your affectionate
J. BERESFORD.

My daughter is getting better faster than the physicians encouraged me to hope.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Oct. 11th, 1796.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have received yours of the 29th September, and we are domestic enough to enter fully into the whole ground of your affliction for the death of Madame de Meyrol. There are many comforts in having a numerous family and a numerous establishment connected with it; but the scale of discomforts bears some weight occasionally. In the meantime,

* The Right Hon. Thomas Pelham, eldest son of Thomas, Lord Pelham (afterwards Earl of Chichester), and Anne Frankland; born 1756; M.P. for Sussex 1780 to 1801; called up to the House of Lords as Baron Pelham 1801; succeeded his father as Earl 1805; appointed Surveyor-General of Ordnance 1782; Chief Secretary of Ireland 1783; again 1795; Secretary of State 1801 to 1803; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster 1803; Postmaster-General 1807; married, 1801, Lady Henrietta Osborne, daughter of Francis, fifth Duke of Leeds; died 1826.

we are glad that your daughter is gradually doing well.

I collect, both from your letters and from others, that the state of Ireland grows less dangerous every day. I am not enough acquainted with military men to know how far the new arrangement of your staff is the best that could be made. The worthy old general^a has taken the change in the best way possible, and has written a very kind letter to me to express his full satisfaction with the respect shown to his character and past services by the Duke of York and the Lord-Lieutenant.

Your ideas of the state of the Continent are so just that I can say nothing that will not have occurred. We still have strong reason to hope that Moreau's army will be cut up. The Italian business is less probable. The Directory are certainly under great embarrassments. I shall not be surprised if they end in some explosion. As to the Treaty, it is impossible either to reason or to speculate; it may do everything, or may do nothing. The scene being all new to Lord Malmesbury,^b he may meet the fraternal embraces with indifference. After all

^a The Right Hon. Robert Cuninghame; born 1735; M.P. for Tulske 1760; for borough of Monaghan 1768, 1776, 1783, and 1790; created, 1796, Lord Rossmore; appointed General Commanding in Chief in Ireland 1793 to 1796; married Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Murray, 1754; died 1801.

^b James Harris, Earl of Malmesbury, son of James Harris and Elizabeth Clarke, a celebrated diplomatist; born 1746; M.P. for Christ Church 1771, 1780, and 1784; appointed envoy to Spain 1771; to Prussia 1772; to Russia 1776; to the Netherlands 1784; Ambassador Extraordinary to same 1788; to Russia again 1793; to France for negotiations of peace 1796 and 1797; created, 1788, Baron Malmesbury; Earl of 1800; married, 1777, Henrietta, daughter of Sir George Cornwall, Bart.; died 1820.

that I have said, and written, and published, about the rascals, and after living, as I did, so much with the Royal Family and murdered Ministers of France, it was impossible for me ever to shake the bloody hands of the assassins and regicides.

We are all well here. We went to town last week, for the ladies to hear the King's Speech, and to go to a ball at the Duchess of Gordon's. The session will have little or no business till something more can be known respecting the state both of the war and of the negotiation.

Mr. Pitt, in one of his late visits to me, took the occasion to hold with me the only conversation on personal views that has passed between us since I returned from the Continent. In stating to me his difficulties and pre-engagement in disposing of the present vacancy in office, he mentioned a plan which he had in his view, and which if he can soon realise (there is some uncertainty as to the time) would be better for me than anything else. He was very kind and friendly, and honourable, as I have always found him.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Dec. 22nd, 1796.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have not written for some weeks, because the course of events has been such, and

so notorious, that they always made their way to you in the public papers before I could transmit any mention of them, and I had nothing, in other respects, to say that was interesting. I have not been unemployed: Mr. Pitt has been very much with me here, and I was often with him in town during the arrangement of the Subscription Loan and Taxes; and all that essential business went off as well as possible.

Rose will send you the printed report on the improvement of the Thames immediately.

Pray execute a very small job of the same kind for me: a pamphlet of mine, on the circumstances of the War in October, 1795, was reprinted in Dublin; I merely want to have a copy of the Irish edition franked to me. Having copies of eleven other editions in different places bound together, I want to add the Irish one. I mentioned it twice to Cooke, but he is not attentive in small matters.

It is meant, at the end of next week, to adjourn till about the 14th February; but I shall not be surprised, if in the meantime this demise in Russia (which is a most unfortunate event at the moment), or the sailing of the Brest fleet with troops, or some other untoward incident, should cut us out work and spoil our holidays. It is the fashion to say that the French are gone to Portugal; I cannot help thinking a visit to your estate is much more probable, and though I have a great opinion of the Irish Loyal Volunteers, I should be very sorry to see them called into the field against a combination of the disaffected Irish and the Jacobin ragamuffins of France.

We are all well here, and I will take the occasion to add a few words of a private and confidential kind. You may probably have seen or heard, by letters, a report of an intended marriage between Mr. Pitt and my eldest daughter. You know me too well to suppose that if it were so, I should have remained silent. The truth is, she is handsome, and possessed of sense far superior to the ordinary proportion of the world; they see much of each other, they converse much together, and I really believe they have sentiments of mutual esteem; but I have no reason to think that it goes further on the part of either, nor do I suppose it is likely ever to go further.

Let us hear from you; and believe me,

Ever yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 27th Dec., 1796.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I have received yours yesterday, in the midst of hurry and confusion. Early on Sunday morning an express arrived from General Dalrymple with an account that the French fleet were standing into Bantry Bay. The same day there came accounts from the Duke of Portland that they had sailed from Brest on the 16th.

Measures were immediately taken to move the troops towards Cork, and it is impossible to do justice to the zeal and spirit shown by the soldiers of the line and the

militia. In this dreadful weather they marched off in the highest spirits, and my son Charles, who arrived in town from Kilkenny this morning, tells me he met them marching with the greatest eagerness and alacrity ; all that they were afraid of was that the French should get off before they could get at them. All our accounts bring the most pleasing intelligence of a most universal zeal and ardour ; the yeomen are anxious to move against the enemy ; they are doing garrison duty everywhere. The farmers in Munster are assisting the military as much as they can.

We have no certainty yet as to the enemy, our accounts are so various : some say that they were at anchor in Bantry Bay ; would to God that they were, for if that be the case, it is probable that they will soon be anchored at Portsmouth or Plymouth ! We know, by the Duke of Portland's second letter, received yesterday, that Lord Bridport^a sailed at latest on Sunday ; it is not possible for the wind to be fairer, and he must be off Bantry by this time. We have every reason to suppose, by the same letters, that Colpoys^b must be off our coast also ; and Elphinstone is in Crookhaven, as we hear. If, therefore, the French should go into Bantry Bay, they cannot get

^a Alexander Hood, first Viscount Bridport, second son of the Rev. Samuel Hood and Mary Hoskyns ; served as Rear-Admiral under Lord Howe at the relief of Gibraltar, and on the 1st June commanded in a victorious action off L'Orient in 1795 ; created Baron Bridport, Ireland, 1794 ; England 1796 ; Viscount 1804 ; Vice-Admiral of England ; married, first, Mary West ; secondly, Mary Bray ; died 1814.

^b Sir John Colpoys, K.B. ; Admiral 1784 ; served under Lord Bridport at L'Orient 1795 ; Lord of Admiralty 1804 ; died 1821.

out before our fleets are on their backs, and if they go to westward of the Bay they will find it very difficult to work into it: and I do not see that they can escape, even if they run from our coast, for the wind is directly against them; and if they keep the sea with their transports, &c., we must overtake them. The only anxiety I meet is lest these scoundrels should escape.

Mr. Annesley is come in time from Pelham to tell me that there is no absolute certainty as to the fleet; that they have accounts that they are not in the Bay; one lugger came in and landed on Baerhaven Island, and carried away some cattle, and Pelham has no doubt they are French. Thus things stand at just three o'clock. I shall not seal my letter till the last moment, as news is hourly expected. There was intelligence from Sir Neal O'Donnell of a fleet of six ships seen off Black Sod Bay, steering north. This is not believed, but it may for all that be a detachment pushing for the north, which might not evince the same spirit as the south has done. Let this business end as it may as to the enemy, it must have the very best effects as to our internal foes, for it has brought out such a host against them as will make them feel their inability to carry out the mischief which they flattered themselves they would achieve. I am in spirits, and sanguine at the appearance of things, and I hope I do not deceive myself. I have sent to hunt for a copy of your pamphlet.

I certainly heard of the report which you mention, and saw it in the newspapers. Lord Camden has more than once asked me if I knew anything about it. I answered, as I shall continue to do, that I knew nothing

about it. Whatever may be the issue, my warmest wishes are not wanting for the best. I could say much upon the subject, but this is not the proper time.

With the best compliments of the season to Lady Auckland and all your family,

Ever yours affectionately,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 29th Dec., 1796.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—It is surprising that some people would not believe that a French fleet was absolutely upon our coast, but chose to make it any other fleet under the sun: however, we have ascertained the fact. One of their 64-gun ships ran down a frigate, and carried away her masts; the Lieutenant was sent with four boatmen for orders to the Admiral, and the boat was forced by the current and the wind on shore, and the men taken. The Lieutenant has been brought up, and is now at the Castle. He says that there were 50 sail in all, 17 of the line, 15 frigates, 13 transports, and some corvettes, commanded by Hoche; that the fleet was separated by high winds, and that but eleven ships of the line are at anchor under Baerhaven. He did not know how many frigates, or he pretends not to know. I do not believe they intend landing in Bantry Bay, but mean to rendezvous there and proceed to some other place, which I consider is the north, where the people

are the very devil. I am writing my own ideas, for no one has told me any better. Their force I suspect to be about 20,000, which I thus compute: the Lieutenant's frigate had 380 men; 15 would have 5700. Seventeen sail of the line, 600 men each, as stated in the papers, 10,200. Thirteen transports, each 500, = 6500. Total 22,400, which will be about 20,000 efficient.

Everything is quiet, and loyalty apparent everywhere, except in the north. Now that the fact of a French fleet is ascertained, we shall immediately see the real disposition of the United Irishmen. The military of every description and denomination appears firm. We are dreadfully impatient for Bridport or Colpoys. I saw a letter from Portsmouth, dated 25th: Bridport was getting under weigh; and they knew of the French fleet on our coast. What can have become of Colpoys?

Yours ever affectionately,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD WESTMORELAND.

Dublin, 20th June, 1797.

MY DEAR LORD,—As you expressed a desire of hearing how we go on here, I have the pleasure to let you know that things are changed much for the better. The late exertions which have been made have operated, as exertions always have done in this country (witness the National Guards in your time); they have put down the conspirators, at least for the present, and if they are

persevered in will, I trust, quiet the country. I do not mean to say that the chief conspirators either have changed or will change their principles, but that the great bulk of the people, who were led away, some by misrepresentation and some by their fears (for the system of terror was not more complete in France than it was here), when they found that the business was taken up seriously, began to reflect on their situation, and finding that the safety which they expected, from taking the United men's oaths did not exist, they have thought it best to take advantage of the indemnity offered to them by the proclamation, and vast numbers of them have come in and taken the oaths of allegiance, and given security for their good behaviour; but the most material circumstance is, that many have delivered up their arms, and much arms have been taken up by the yeomen and the army. One thousand five hundred at Carrickfergus, and 6000 at Belfast, took the oaths before Lord Yelverton and Justice Chamberlaine, and I suppose above 20,000 have done the same; and although several of these may not be to be depended on, yet it makes a great break among the disaffected, and shows the timorous that the numbers they expected cannot be relied on.

This town is quite quiet now, and the prospect of peace, and the conclusion of the naval mutiny has cast down the United men beyond what could be imagined; but your Lordship knows enough of the real dispositions, both of the Roman Catholics and the Dissenters, to let you imagine that they have totally laid aside their plans; far from it; I believe Rebellion sleeps, but is not dead.

They still retain the scheme of a separation, and will endeavour, whenever they have opportunity, to put it in practice, and no concessions will ever induce them to give up this favourite object; concessions will strengthen them, and they will take advantage of that strength; nothing but a constant and vigilant attention to keep them in order will keep us in quiet or preserve the connection between the two countries.

All your friends are well; our session is over, and I hope we shall have a quiet summer if we have a peace.

I am, my Lord, ever your affectionate and obliged, humble servant,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Oct. 6th, 1797.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I begin to think it long since I heard from you. I have passed much of my time lately at Holwood, and Mr. Pitt is far advanced in his preparations for the money business of the next session: I hope that we shall do well. It will depend a little on the Lisle story, as soon as it can be told with propriety, a little also on retrenchments; and I apprehend it may be expedient to call by Act of Parliament for some contributions, regulated perhaps by the scale of assessed taxes, and proportioned to incomes, and varying from one-tenth to one-fifteenth of the annual expenditure of individuals, to be taken in aid of the supplies of the

year. Such a sacrifice may be a little hard on the middle classes ; it will not be extended to the lower classes ; and as to the superior class of fortunes, if it tends to preserve them, it ought not to create a murmur. Some other considerable measures are maturing.

I understand that there is a larger batch of new peers than I believe to be wise and expedient. We are changing the essential character of both Houses of Parliament—at least these numerous creations have that tendency—I must not, however, say so, having reason to believe that Sir Gilbert Elliot is on the list as Lord Minto, and one or two other particular friends. The story of the Kingsborough family is melancholy and shocking.

It has sometimes been in contemplation to convert our salt duties to a commutation. Is it possible that such a measure would give alarm to the south of Ireland for the victualling trade ? It ought not, for we have no cattle, and there is in that case also a drawback of the duties.

Portugal denies that her Minister had power to conclude any treaty with France. It looks also at this moment as if the Emperor would be forced to renew the war.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Abbeville, October 24th, 1797.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I received yours of the 6th on my return from the north, where I have been on my private affairs, which I found very much deranged, owing to my attention to other business and inattention to my own. In short, I found myself plundered, and my agent in debt to me near 3000*l*. I mean to go down again in the spring, and arrange my affairs thoroughly. I am very happy to find that Mr. Pitt is not likely to be embarrassed by his money business, and I trust that Lord Duncan's late success will assist him by keeping people in good humour, and perhaps have some influence on the minds of the Direction to induce them to peace. It certainly was of the highest advantage to this country. We continue to be in a very critical state: the spirit of revolution still continues, though smothered, in the minds of the United Irishmen, and the hopes of plunder, non-payment of tithes and rents, and a recovery of the ancient forfeited properties, animates the minds of the lower order of people, both Papists and Dissenters. Outrages continue to be committed locally on the south side of Dublin, in Cork, and the west of Waterford. Those in the south are against tithes; they will not bid for another's land nor anything distrained. This I think little of, for men of property join heart and hand to stop this, and thus it will be very soon quieted.

We are in a sad way for want of money. The taxes of last year were nonsense, and I believe they know not

what to tax this year. They have taken all tax off the breweries, they have destroyed the hearth-money, and with a large accumulation of debt, have nothing to substitute in their place. This moment an express is come down to me to desire my immediate attendance at the Castle.

Adieu. Ever yours,
J. BERESFORD.

LORD WESTMORELAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

London, Feb. 2nd, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to trouble you again relative to Captain Woodley's affairs, but beg to enclose you two letters from Mr. Bankes, and shall be much obliged to you if you will compel the Custom House officers to do what is right, or inform me what the difficulty is.

We are told in London that Lord Moira is gone to make his harangue in the Irish Parliament, which I can hardly believe; but if he should, he will afford some amusement to Lord Clare.

Notwithstanding these boastings and threatenings, I cannot learn that the French have any considerable equipment in readiness for the invasion of England; they have, it is thought, something in forwardness to westward, at Havre and St. Maloes, either for Guernsey or Jersey, or perhaps Ireland. Everybody in this country speaks with much anger of the proposed absentee tax, and considers it a most hostile and offensive

proposition; the measure seems to be so absurd and impolitic that I have little apprehension of its passing. I beg to be remembered to my friends.

Am, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

WESTMORELAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD WESTMORELAND.

Dublin, 8th Feb., 1798.

MY DEAR LORD,—I have received yours of the 2nd, relative to Captain Woodley's money, and spoke to Theophilus Jones about it, who has inquired into the cause of its not being paid; the money was, by order of the Board, long since remitted by the Collector of Waterford to the Collector of Dublin, and by him paid into the Treasury nearly two years ago; so that we have been obliged yesterday to make a new order to have the money paid out of the Revenue at large; and I directed that Mr. Maude should be apprised of the mode in which he was to receive it, so that I trust there will be no further delay.

Lord Moira has already done a great deal of mischief, and his coming here will do much more to the public, and not a little to himself.

Our Budget was opened this day: our Supply 4,000,000*l.*, our Taxes 400,000*l.* a-year.

The organization of rebellion goes on and increases daily; if we do not attack them they will us; we have been too long looking on.

Not a word of opposition in either House yet.

It would be wiser for absentees not to be angry until they have reason. The tax may be proposed, but in such times as these will not be supported. I believe it will some time or other take place.

I am, my dear Lord, with great truth, your affectionate and obliged, humble servant,

J. B.

LORD WESTMORELAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

London, 15th March, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—I trouble you with Mr. Bankes' letter, which will best explain itself. You will observe that he is struck, as everybody else is, with the Commander-in-Chief's* manifesto, which, unexplained, seems an insult upon the Lord-Lieutenant, Parliament, and Council, and a libel on the Army. It is an implied corroboration of Lord Moira's statements, and a direct disobedience of orders. When we hear more about it, a better judgment may be formed, but the sort of explanation given by Pelham, as stated in the debates, does not throw much light. Pray tell me what could be the object, or what is the secret history of it.

* Sir Ralph Abercromby, Lieutenant-General, K.B., son of George Abercromby and Mary Dundas; born 1734; appointed Commander-in-Chief of Ireland 1797; succeeded by Lord Cornwallis 1798; appointed to command the expedition to Egypt in 1800; killed at the battle of Alexandria 1801; married, 1767, Mary Ann Menzies, who was created, 1801, Baroness Abercromby.

Lord Abercorn * has, I am told, sent in his resignation of his commission; and it is likewise said that some of the general officers have come to a similar determination, unless Abercromby apologises, or is recalled. I am very sorry to see the most alarming accounts of your state of affairs. The daily execution of magistrates is shocking; if the insurgents can proceed in the administration of punishments with impunity, the timid and neutral of all descriptions will be of their side speedily, and therefore some quick decision is necessary for you. I take it for granted that General Abercromby's manifesto will occasion some trouble in our Parliaments.

I am yours sincerely,

WESTMORELAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD WESTMORELAND.

Dublin, 20th March, 1798.

MY DEAR LORD,—I wrote you a few lines in a great hurry by last night's post, but had not time to answer your questions. There is but one opinion of General Abercromby's orders, and that exactly consonant to yours. Nothing restrains individuals from resigning their commissions, or Parliament from taking up the business very strongly, except the terrible situation of the country; Abercromby's military character is well

* John James Hamilton, first Marquis of Abercorn and ninth Earl, son of the Hon. John Hamilton; succeeded his uncle 1789; born 1756; married, first, 1779, Catherine Copley; secondly, 1792, Cecil Hamilton; thirdly, Lady Jane Gore; created Marquis 1790; died 1818.

thought of, and the difficulty of a successor keeps people quiet. I am persuaded that he came here fully possessed of Lord Moira's sentiments, or prepossessed by them, and has often said since his arrival (nay, after he came back from his tour through Munster) that the country was quiet, except the disputes between two parties. I conceive it is a bad measure the sending us over new generals every day; they come over prejudiced, and not acquainted with the real situation of the country. A gentleman told me this day that he heard General Sir James Stewart declare that he would not suffer a man of his to act, that there was no occasion for them; this was before he left Dublin, and of course before he could know anything of the county Cork, where he now commands; all this is very bad, and the consequence is that robberies, murders, and assassinations are now so common that we expect to hear of six or eight every day.

The counties of Carlow, Queen's and King's County, and Kildare, are in open rebellion: I hear 3000 men have marched into the three last counties, but if they act under the former orders, they had better stay away; but I am told that General Abercromby has this day given some new orders, which I do not know.

Pelham has been most dangerously ill, he has now passed three good nights, and is thought to be out of danger.

The measures of the 12th* have disconcerted the

* On that day the Executive Committee of the United Irishmen were arrested at Oliver Bond's house in Dublin, on information afforded by Mr. Thomas Reynolds.

United men; they are, however, publishing some of their handbills, to endeavour to keep up the spirits of their people; and are either about, or give out amongst their people that they are about, to elect a new Executive Committee or Directory.

Ever your obliged and faithful, humble servant,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, April 15th, 1798.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—You may perhaps like to give a cursory perusal to the enclosed explanation of the Land Tax Bill, written, I believe, by Mr. Lowndes; it is dry, but sufficiently clear and accurate. I have great confidence in the success of that measure, and in its gradual effects towards the support of the public credit. Oh that it were possible to do something similar as to the liberation of tithes in both kingdoms! But the clergy would be alarmed.

No news. I write from a full House, crowded for two or three days with visitors.

Yours ever,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 11th July, 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I have received your two notes, dated both the 5th, although I received one a day before the other.

Things stand here as they have been for some time; there are still bodies of insurgents in different parts of the country, but mostly in the bogs and mountains. One party, of about six or seven hundred, have been some time at Timahoe, on the edge of the Bog of Allen, whence they rob all the country round, drive away every man's cattle, and kill them, and plunder and burn every house they choose. Another body is at Blackmore Hill, and Whelp's Rock, a mountain near it—report says 30,000 men, but a gentleman who saw them tells me there may be 15,000. I believe that they are not so many as that. Neither of those places is far from Dublin. There is also a body at Carnew, and several small bodies in Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford. The spirit of rebellion is not abated; and it is certain that several of those who were killed by Sir James Duff had protections in their pockets obtained under the late proclamation of the Generals.

On Monday, fourteen of my son John's corps met fourteen rebels carrying ammunition to the camp at Whelp's Rock, and they attacked them. Ten were armed, and made a desperate resistance; four were killed, and eight taken prisoners, five of whom had protections in their pockets—so you may see what a difficult game we have to play; for no pardon or concession will bind them one moment beyond what they think to their advantage. The minds of the people are totally perverted, and so artfully has it been done that they have touched the several different motives which they knew would work upon the different classes—reform and republicanism for the Dissenters, emancipation and the

ascendancy of popery for the Papists ; and thus the people's minds are warped one way or the other, and every measure adopted is perverted.

The late proclamation they are persuaded was only a trap, and those who come in for protections are caught next day acting as before ; and they are assured of the French coming over directly ; so that both hopes and fears are made use of to work upon them, and threats of every kind are applied to increase the dread of their vengeance.

Thus we stand at present.

Yours ever sincerely and affectionately,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 14th July, 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—The two Mr. Sheares'* trial came on last Thursday, and was not concluded until eight o'clock yesterday morning, when they were both condemned, and hanged this day. They conducted themselves with great decency on the trial, and with firmness, particularly the younger, who was a very clever fellow ; but this day, when they found no chance, their courage failed them, and I hear they sent offers of

* The Sheares ; John and Henry, sons of a banker in Cork ; called to the bar, John in 1789, Henry 1790 ; they were executed in 1798.

discoveries to Lord Cornwallis, who behaved with great firmness, and refused to listen, saying it was too late. At the gallows they both lost their spirits, and the younger, I hear, fell into fits ; they were hanged, &c.

I send you a paper which contains the best account of their trial, and has a pretty accurate copy of John Sheares' famous Proclamation.

The state trials proceed on Monday next.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

A FAC-SIMILE OF SHEARES' PROCLAMATION.

IRISHMEN,—Your country is free, and you are about to be avenged. That vile Government which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you is no more. Some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in our hands. The national flag, the sacred green, is at this moment flying over the ruins of Despotism ; and that capital which a few hours past witnessed the debauchery, the plots and crimes, of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism and virtue. Arise, then, United Sons of Ireland ! arise like a great and powerful people, determined to live free or die. Arm yourselves by every means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes. Consider that for every enemy you disarm you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful. In the cause of Liberty, inaction is cowardice, and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect ; let his arms

be seized and transferred to those gallant spirits who want and will use them. Yes, Irishmen, we swear by that eternal Justice in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot who survives the present glorious struggle, and the family of him who has fallen or shall fall hereafter in it, shall receive from the hands of a grateful nation an ample recompense out of that property which the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands, and his name shall be inscribed on the great national record of Irish Revolution, as a glorious example to all posterity ; but we likewise swear to punish robbery with death and infamy.

We also swear that we will never sheathe the sword until every being in the country is restored to those equal rights which the God of Nature has given to all men ; until an order of things shall be established in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin but that of virtue and talent. Rouse all the energies of your souls ; call forth all the merit and abilities which a vicious Government consigned to obscurity ; and under the conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to victory ! Heed not the glare of a hired soldiery, or aristocratic yeomanry—they cannot stand the vigorous shock of freemen. Their trappings and their arms will soon be yours, and the detested Government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn that the treasures it exhausts on its accoutred slaves, for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but further enable us to turn their swords on its devoted head.

Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow

within their breasts, and have already joined the national standard: receive with open arms such as shall follow so glorious an example—they can render signal service to the cause of Freedom, and shall be rewarded according to their deserts. But for the wretch who turns his sword against his native country; let the national vengeance be visited on him; let him find no quarter.

Attack them in every direction, by day and by night. Avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, and with which you are better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harass their rear and their flanks, cut off their provisions and magazines, and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces. Let whatever moments you cannot devote to fighting for your country be passed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone, must occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland until its long-oppressed soil be purged of all its enemies.

Vengeance, Irishmen, vengeance on your oppressors! Remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their merciless orders. Remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their legal murders. Remember Orr.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

19th July, 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—You wish me to send you the amount of our debt and of our revenue, distinguishing in the former what is due to England, and in the latter what is the amount annually voted.

The amount of our funded debt at

Christmas, 1797, was £9,485,756

Of this sum there is due in England . . . 6,196,316

The interest of our debt is 698,829

Of this sum there is paid in England . . . 317,521

The amount of our revenue last year

was 1,940,000

The hereditary or perpetual revenue

was 650,000

The taxes voted annually (in round

numbers) 1,290,000

Our military establishment is 3,324,410

Our civil ditto is 264,075

The permanent and annual grants are . . . 350,000

The last item includes miscellaneous services, canals, public offices, Linen Board, &c., &c.

The funded debt is stated to Christmas last, the latest official statement, but to this must be added the debt of the present session, which I have not at present.

We are getting on in a very *handsome* manner, our expenses now exceeding our income by 2,700,000*l.* (in round numbers).

I have sent a newspaper with a tolerable report of M^r Cann's trial, who was hanged to-day.

Our Secret Committee was balloted in yesterday, and consists of the following, with the number of votes for each.

1. David La Touche . . .	111
2. Lord Castlereagh . . .	94
3. John Beresford . . .	93
4. Sir J. Parnell . . .	82
5. The Speaker . . .	78
6. Isaac Corry . . .	74
7. John Maxwell . . .	63
8. Henry Alexander . . .	62
9. Prime Serjeant . . .	60
10. Richard French . . .	53
11. Sir Hercules Langrishe . . .	42
12. J. C. Beresford . . .	38
13. Maurice Fitzgerald . . .	34

By the great difference of numbers, between 111 and 34, you see that there was a great variety of lists. However, the Government lists prevailed generally, except in my son John's case, who was somehow forced in, his own friends, as well as himself, having supported the Government list.

I mention these circumstances to show what a spirit is afloat, and owing to a mistaken fear that concession is intended to the Papists, which I am convinced could not be carried.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 21st July, 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—We borrowed

this year in Ireland	£1,000,000
From England two millions ; in Irish	
money	2,166,666
From our Bank	200,000
From ditto	100,000
A vote of credit	500,000
By sale of quit rents, &c.	1,000,000
	<hr/>
	£4,966,666

The quit rents cannot be sold under sixteen years' purchase, and the loss of the revenue is just paying so much per cent. interest.

I have ordered the trial of the Sheares, as far as it is printed, to be sent to you to-night ; you will get the remainder about Tuesday. The short-hand writer is obliged to attend Court, and is delayed.

Byrne was condemned at three o'clock to-day.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 25th July, 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—Our Secret Committee goes on very slowly ; however, we have before us some very important papers, the contents of which have been long

known to the confidential Members of the Committee ; I can easily judge of what the effect of these disclosures will be on the public mind from what it has been on those Members who never heard of them till they entered the Committee.

We examined two collectors of the United Irishmen and two rebels this day ; I made out that they computed their army at 50,000 men, in all their different camps ; that not two-thirds of them were armed ; that when the rebellion broke out they had few pikes, but made many afterwards ; that they were very undisciplined, obeyed no orders but those they liked ; that the priests, of whom there were seven in the corps of these two collectors, got the complete ascendancy over them, and made them do what they pleased ; that they often presented their pikes at their officers, if they presumed to prevent them doing what they pleased ; that their original intention was to rise when the French came, and join in overturning the Government, but that they were driven into rising by the committee in Bond's house and Lord Edward Fitzgerald. This appears to me to have been the case, as far as I can see, I mean with the rabble that did rise, and fortunate it was that they were driven to do so in the state of preparation, or rather no preparation, in which they were, and that they did not wait patiently for the French.

This day Mr. Byrne was hanged, and died perfectly hardened. Oliver Bond,* the mainspring and spirit of

* Oliver Bond ; the son of a dissenting minister in Donegal. A wealthy woollen draper, residing in Bridge Street, Dublin. He died in prison 1798.

the whole party, was condemned yesterday, and will be hanged to-morrow.

The disarming the country, and keeping it so, is one of our great objects now. I think that the people are perfectly tired of the rebellion, and they are so hopeless of success, that I do not think they will rise again, without the French come.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

I forgot to say that Grattan came over, and wrote an abusive letter to Dr. Duigenan on his pamphlet. The Doctor would give him no answer, and Grattan sailed again. He got no credit, but the contrary.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Aug. 1st, 1798.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I returned on Monday night from a five days' excursion, with Lady Auckland and my daughters, to Windsor and its neighbourhood; and yesterday I passed the day quietly at Holwood with Mr. Pitt, who set out this morning for Walmer. I trust that the sea air will do good to him; he is greatly recovered, but is much shaken in his constitution, and must be very attentive as to diet, exercise, hours, &c. His spirits are as good, and his mind as active, as ever.

We have many and long discussions as to Ireland; it seems hardly justifiable to return merely to the old

system, varied only by the disarming of those who were wretchedly armed when the late insurrection broke out, and among whom there remains unchanged all the poison of Jacobinism, republicanism, and disaffection. Nothing will be done hastily; the subject must be considered much more deeply. I am against changes; but it appears to me that the loyal Catholics ought to be distinguished; and that the whole system of needy, and illiterate, and disaffected Papist priests ought to be put down—giving to the sect, not an establishment, but respectable and responsible men of their own persuasion, paid handsomely from the public purse. Are you able to inform me, with respect to Irish tithes, what proportion of the whole you conceive to be paid by Protestants; what proportion by the more opulent planters; and what proportion by cottagers, potato grounds, &c.?

Have you any guess as to the whole amount of the revenues of your Protestant Church?

I much fear that Mr. Pitt has mislaid the material notes which you sent to me of your revenues, debts, &c. Have you a copy of it?

I send you the enclosed, in which you will find amusement. By-the-bye, you make a figure in the latter pages of it.

Yours ever,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

2nd Aug., 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I have already sent you, according to your desire, an account of our funded debt up to Christmas last, and the amount of our interest; I now send you an account of the money since voted, with the rate of interest, and the amount of our annual revenue and disbursements.

	Principal.	Interest.
Borrowed in Ireland since Dec., 1797, at 7 <i>l</i> . 9 <i>s</i> . per cent.	£1,000,000	74,500
Borrowed in England, at 6 <i>l</i> . 4 <i>s</i> . 11 <i>d</i> . per cent.	2,166,666	139,646
Borrowed from the Bank of Ireland, at 7 <i>l</i> . 9 <i>s</i> . per cent.	200,000	14,900
Borrowed from ditto, at 5 <i>l</i> . per cent.	100,000	5,000
To be raised by the sale of quit rents	1,000,000	64,700
A vote of credit, to be raised, I suppose, at 7 <i>l</i> . 9 <i>s</i> . per cent.	500,000	37,250
Total principal borrowed since Dec., 1797, and interest.	£4,966,666	335,996
Total Debt previous to this pe- riod, and interest	9,485,756	698,829
Total Debt and interest on 1st August, 1798	£14,452,422	1,034,825

Add to the interest the amount	
of the Civil List	£264,075
The military establishment	3,324,420
The annual grants of Parlia- liament	350,000
	<hr/>
Total amount of annual dis- bursements	4,973,310
Total amount of annual re- venue	1,940,000
	<hr/>
Our expenses exceed our in- come by	£3,033,310

You will observe that I have charged the amount of the quit rents, viz. 64,700*l.*, in the amount of interest, because in the annual revenue of 1,940,000*l.* this sum is included, and when sold, the income will be decreased by this sum.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, Aug. 9th, 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I received yours of the 1st on Tuesday. The account which you give me of Mr. Pitt pleases me greatly, as there have been letters here, for three or four days, saying that he was extremely ill. I send you a copy of the first account furnished to you

of our Debt and Revenue, as you desire, and, with the last account which I sent you, it will furnish you with the knowledge you desire.

I am very happy that Mr. Pitt is thinking on the subject of Ireland, the great misfortune of which country has been that for many years Ministers have never thought of her, except when she became extremely troublesome to them, when by some temporary expedient they have patched up a temporary quiet, and left things to chance until another crisis called upon them again to think. The mischief which has been done is great, and the evil deep rooted, and how it will be set right, God only knows.

The Ministers of England are extremely ignorant of the situation, nature, and disposition of the people of Ireland. To enter properly into that subject, and minutely, would require a quarto volume; but be assured that the whole body of the lower order of Roman Catholics of this country are totally inimical to the English Government; that they are under the influence of the lowest and worst class of their priesthood; that all the extravagant and horrid tenets of that religion are as deeply engraven in their hearts as they were a century ago, or three centuries ago, and that they are as barbarous, ignorant, and ferocious as they then were; and if Ministers imagine they can treat with such men just as they would with the people of Yorkshire if they rebelled, they will find themselves mistaken.

Again, the Dissenters are another set of enemies to British Government. They are greatly under the influence of their clergy, also, and are taught from their

cradles to be republicans ; but their religion, which is as fierce as their politics, forbids them to unite with the Catholics, and to that, in a great measure, is owing that we were not all destroyed in this rebellion ; for I believe that if the Wexford people had not broke out so early into horrid acts of massacre as they did, the North would have risen, and who knows what the event might have been ? The third sect, viz. the Church of England men, are all loyal subjects to the King, and true to the British connection, but their minds, at present, are inflamed to a great degree of animosity against the Papists, and this is one reason why the latter so reluctantly submit to any acts of lenity held out by the Government. This day it is expected there will be some debating in the House of Commons : the Act of Attainder is to be read a second time, and it is thought that some discontented persons mean to contest the Act, and to introduce the subject of lenity. As usual, I am the object of abuse. I am said to have quarrelled with Lord Cornwallis^a for not hanging Bond, and he is said to have turned me out of his closet ; and that I am off to London to persuade Mr. Pitt and the King to recall Lord Cornwallis. Now the fact is that I was the first person that attempted the system of lenity, and I, with the approbation of Lord Camden, in the month of May,

^a Charles Cornwallis, first Marquis Cornwallis, son of Charles, first Earl, and the Hon. Anne Townshend ; born 1738 ; succeeded his father 1762 ; appointed Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India 1786 to 1793 ; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1798, and Commander-in-Chief ; second time Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India 1805 ; married, 1768, Jemima Jones ; created Marquis 1792 ; died 1805.

on the 23rd, went down to Coolock, assembled all the country, persuaded them to give up their arms, pikes, &c., and take the oath, and confess their crimes; and except a very few, the whole of that county has been quiet ever since: 1342 took the oaths, and I gave them protections. It is true that this plan has not succeeded as well elsewhere; many who took protections one day were killed or taken in arms the next with the protections in their pockets. I hope, however, in general it will do good. We are pretty quiet in most parts, except Wicklow and the parts of Wexford and Carlow adjoining Wicklow; there are in them parties of banditti who burn houses and murder Protestants, but I trust they will soon be destroyed. They are taught to believe that Government show them lenity only because they are afraid of them, and that very few rebels have been killed, while vast numbers of the King's forces have been slaughtered. These deceptions have been effected by the influence of the priests. I hate change as much as you do, but some change must be made, upon deliberate consideration, as well in our financial as our political situation, or we shall be lost. What you say of the low priests appears to me wise and proper. The Dissenting clergy ought to be looked to as well; there is a large fund paid by Government for their support, which ought to be seen to.

I cannot now give you the information you ask respecting tithes and church revenues. If I can pick it up I will send it to you.

Yours ever,

J. B.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 24th Aug., 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—An express is just arrived, with an account of four French frigates having arrived in Killalla Bay, and landed 600 men, with General Kilmaine; it is said that they have no more men on board. They have seized upon the Bishop and his two sons. We shall now see the disposition of the people; I suppose they have arms and ammunition.

I know no more at present.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

25th Aug., 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—The account of this day I had from Lord Cornwallis, and it is that not more than 300 of the country people have joined the French; and General Hutchinson writes that the country is quiet.

General Lake^a set off yesterday evening to take the command, and Lord Cornwallis goes down to-morrow; he had previous information of the probability of a

^a Lieut.-General Gerard Lake, second son of Launcelot Lake and Letitia Gumley; born 1744; second in command of the army in Ireland under Lord Cornwallis; Commander-in-Chief in India under Lord Wellesley; created, for his services there, Baron Lake 1804; Viscount 1807; married, 1770, Elizabeth Barker; died 1808.

descent, and had ordered 6000 men to march to the western coast ; so that I hope we shall soon have a good account of these gentry ; if the country remain quiet, the attack will have been very lucky.

We got through the Committee on the Bill of Attainder yesterday night, or rather this morning, as we sat until half-past five—the two preceding nights until past two, and Tuesday all night, until seven in the morning.

Our funds, that is our Five per Cents., had risen above twelve per cent. in the last month ; how this event may affect them, I cannot say.

Our revenue continues to rise, and on the 10th instant was 204,350*l.* higher than at the correspondent period of last year.

Yours ever,
J. B.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Aug. 28th, 1798.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Many thanks for your interesting billet of the 24th. Falstaff says, “I am afraid of that gunpowder Percy, though he be dead.” I am not easy about these infernal French, though the sort of landing which they have made is precisely what in all reason and theory we ought to wish. There is reason to believe that they meant to send out other expeditions to other parts of the coast, which have hitherto been prevented from getting out by Lord Bridport’s squadron. We know that they had given an order for all the Irish

who were in Paris to go down to the sea coast. If they have not been able to attempt any other landing than this miserable handful under Kilmaine, you will soon give a good account of the business, and its effects may be serviceable in many points of view; still I shall feel a little uneasy till the result is ascertained—such strange things have happened in these strange times.

Is it to be a measure not to bring forward Mr. Grattan's name, which I happen to know was mentioned by the witnesses before the Secret Committee, and in a way which, to my apprehension, is most nearly allied to misprision of treason? I certainly would have published the whole; and would take up and try Mr. Grattan, if the facts and the law will bear us through. What kind of character is Duigenan? His work is harsh, and occasionally in a bad taste; but it is acute and with great merit, and bears very heavily.

We remain in the same eternal suspense as to Bonaparte's business.

The corvette taken some weeks ago having given some notice of the Irish expedition, we shall be said to have kept a bad look out.

I am, my dear Beresford, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

30th August, 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—Last night an express arrived which brought us some important news, more comfort-

able than the morning afforded. I find that the French had not gotten further than Castlebar; that Lake was at Tuam, and had been reinforced, but by what numbers I do not know; and that His Excellency was moving forward from Athlone, to join Lake. He is said to have 7000 men with him, so that I think by this time the French must be in his possession; the sooner the public knows this the better; I hope it may be soon announced, for the rebels are every day in conclave, plotting a rising.

You will see in the papers an advertisement from Dr. McNevin, Arthur O'Connor, and Counsellor Emmett, published with the most mischievous intentions, in these words: "Having read in the different newspapers publications pretending to be abstracts of the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, we feel ourselves called upon to assure the public that they are gross, and, to us, astonishing misrepresentations, not only unsupported by, but in many instances directly contradictory to, the facts we really stated on those occasions. We further assure our friends that in no instance did the name of any individual escape from us; on the contrary, we always refused answering such questions as might tend to implicate any person whatever, conformable to the agreement entered into by State prisoners with the Government.

"ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

"THOMAS ADDIS EMMETT.

"W. JAMES MC NEVIN."

You may judge for what purpose this was done when I observe that the Report of the Secret Committee was

made on Tuesday, 20th, was given in the newspapers on Thursday, and no observation whatever made on it. On Friday evening we had the account of the landing of the French, on Saturday it was publicly known, and it appeared in evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, that on Sunday the three prisoners, with other prisoners and some visiting friends at Kilmainham, drew up this advertisement, and debated whether it should be printed in handbills, and differed in opinion on that point. You may judge therefore the motive.

The handbills were printed and dispersed everywhere.

The "Hassard" has taken a 44-gun ship, armed *en flute*, with 400 soldiers from the Isle of France; and it is reported that a 74-gun ship, with men, was taken off Kinsale, but I believe it is the same ship.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Friday night, Aug. 31st, 1798.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—We are watching with anxiety the arrival of further accounts from you; although there can be little doubt that your invaders must before this time be your prisoners. I suppose that our three frigates will have arrived in Sligo Bay on the 26th, which will have cut off all means of re-embarkation. On the whole, if the affair ends as it seems likely to end, it will have

an useful impression. It appears from the French newspapers that other similar attempts are intended, and upon a larger scale. If they are so ill-contrived as this has been, we cannot have a more beneficent enemy.

All the gazettes in Europe continue to bore us with vague and contradictory accounts from the Mediterranean. I believe nothing that I have seen or heard upon the subject. But our suspense is prolonged beyond all reasonable calculation; and there will soon be reason to fear that at all events our squadron will be in distress for provisions, stores, &c.

Mr. Pitt has sent me a note this evening, that he is in town, and will be at Holwood on Sunday. I understand that he continues well.

Will you have the goodness to send me an explanation of the enclosed paper?—Mr. Gough came on horseback to this place yesterday morning, and sent in the paper to me. From respect to the handwriting of John Lees I consented to see him, and I heartily repented it; for though I have had some experience in the chapter of importunities, I never met with so importunate a man. He declaimed, protested, apologized, wept, talked, wept again, &c., &c., &c. I in vain remarked to him that I could do nothing in his case; that there must be something more in it than I saw; that it was ridiculous to suppose the Commissioners of the Irish Revenue would at the time have persisted in taking his office from him without compensation merely because they had received a letter from the Chief Secretary in consequence of a supposed decease. He still repeated that you, and all the Commis-

sioners, and all the succeeding Lord-Lieutenants, most deeply lamented his misfortune, and were all most sorry that he had been ruined by my order. And then he talked of a wife and children, and the want of meat and bread; and Mr. Lees' friendship and certificate; and Lord Townshend's, and Lord St. Helen's, &c., &c.; and Mr. Allan Maclean's^a statement to show that I was the person who had ruined him sixteen years ago. I at last told him that there was not common sense in a story which implied a deliberate injustice and helplessness too in your Board, and there I left him. Have the goodness to return his paper to me.

Yours very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

2nd Sept., 1796.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I yesterday received yours of the 28th. I wish I could give you a satisfactory account of our visitors the French. I take for granted that Lord Cornwallis is right in all that he is doing: he is on the spot, and knows all the circumstances. He means to make very sure work of it. I do not choose to write to you reports, and His Excellency is not very communicative to Lord Castlereagh.

You ask me what sort of character Dr. Duigenan

^a Allan Maclean, a most efficient confidential clerk at the Custom House, who succeeded Mr. Winder as Secretary for the Port business 1796; he continued Secretary to the Revenue Board till 1820.

bears. He is a very odd man. He is an excellent scholar, and was esteemed one of the best in college in my time. He became a fellow, quarrelled early with the late Provost, and wrote a book against him, as large as his answer to Grattan, under the title of "Pranceriana," which much resembled his late production, but was even more coarse and abusive. Since that period he became the principal civilian here, and had a good business as a common lawyer. He was then made judge of the Prerogative Court, and also of the Consistorial Court of Dublin; is Member for Armagh, and a great manner of man, but he still retains that coarseness which his original entailed upon him. I hope to be able to send you by this post the Report of the Secret Committee of the Lords, in the appendix to which, in Mr. Hughes' and Mr. Neilson's* evidence, you will see what you inquire for respecting Mr. Grattan. Both Lords and Commons have passed an address, requesting that it may be laid before His Majesty, so that either or both of your Houses will have them upon any future occasion.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Sept. 3rd, 1798.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—The letters of the 28th from Dublin are certainly of a kind to give great anxiety

* Samuel Neilson, the editor of the "Northern Star" newspaper, and a leader of the United Irishmen.

for the consequences. The Castlebar catastrophe was a most unexpected event ; but it is vain to talk about it, otherwise I would say that if the troops could have been depended on, we ought to have made the attack, and not to have waited for it ; and if they could not be depended on, we ought to have fallen back towards the head-quarters, leaving to the enemy the risk of advancing into the plains of Connaught, with one army in their front and another in their flank—but after-wisdom is easy and idle.

Even now, I dread nothing but great risings, which the impression of the Castlebar defeat may encourage.

Mr. Pitt, within four hours after the arrival of the news, had given orders for great reinforcements to be sent to you, and they will embark instantly.

The march of the enemy to Tuam seems to indicate the expectation of some other landing at the north of the Shannon.

Further conjectures are idle, and they would not be pleasant.

I will say no more at present. I passed the morning yesterday at Holwood. Mr. Pitt is better.

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

P.S. Many thanks for yours of the 30th : it affords the strongest hope that your next letters will give accounts of an entire surrender.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

5th Sept., 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I have just seen the Government despatches, and find that Lord Cornwallis intended to attack the enemy this morning early ; he moves from a place between Hollymount and Castlebar. General Lake moves from Swineford, General Taylor from Bellaghy, and General Nugent from Sligo. The French are entrenched behind Castlebar, in number about eight hundred, with ten pieces of cannon ; and the rebels, whose force is not certainly known, but supposed to be from four thousand to eight thousand, are in possession of Castlebar. Our army is altogether twenty-two thousand strong, so that the event of a battle may be easily supposed ; and yet it is thought they will fight, which I cannot bring myself to believe.

I received yours this day of the 31st, with Mr. Gough's paper. Strange as it may appear, what he says is true ; he was surveyor of Blackrock near Cork ; was in a very bad state of health ; got leave of absence for three or four months, stayed away eighteen, and was reported to the Board of Revenue to be dead ; we reported so to Government, and you put in Patrick Webbe, a relative of the Archbishop of Cashel. Some year after, he applied to me in person, and assured me he was not dead ; and certain I am that he was neither dead nor dumb. I got the Board to certify the fact, as I do now, several times to several Governments, but none would give him office ; lately I did the same, and spoke also to

Lord Camden and Mr. Pelham, but they referred me to Cooke; and at length I was told, that as he would not die, he was justly dismissed for overstaying his leave of absence so many months; that might have been just cause, but really was not the cause of his dismissal. This is his case, but what can you do? I cannot see how you can remedy him, except by asking a personal favour.

The country has everywhere the appearance of being much agitated and disturbed, waiting the event of this day, which if unsuccessful, there would be a general rising; and I dread a further visit from the French.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 8th Sept., 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I enclose the bulletin, by which you see that when the French found that Lord Cornwallis was moving towards them, they retreated, early on Tuesday morning, on the road to Foxford. His Excellency is taking all necessary steps to pursue. It appears to me, on looking into the map, that the French by this step are completely shut up in a corner of the country, out of which they cannot get, and in a very wild part, where they cannot move guns, except on the line of Ballina and Killalla, or get provisions. As soon as they got to Foxford, the main army under Cornwallis

was behind them, and at Castlebar cut off their retreat toward Erris or Galway. General Lake was at Swineford, south-east of them on the right; General Taylor at Bellaghy, south of them on the right also, and General Nugent north-east of them, between Sligo and Ballina; so that I do not see how they can get into the country, either by Sligo, Roscommon, or Galway. They are shut up in the north and north-east of Mayo. I suppose they mean to try and fall back to Killalla again, in hopes that the second armament which they expect from France may arrive and relieve them, either by enabling them to fight or by taking them away; and should they be disappointed, as I trust they will be, they will surrender; such is my conjecture. I am sorry to tell you that the country, in numberless places, shows evident signs of a disposition to rise, and particularly near Dublin, where they do not conceal their intentions, and they only wait the event of a western battle, or of a second landing of the French.

We got rid of one enemy last night. Oliver Bond, after playing ball all the evening, died suddenly of apoplexy.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

9th Sept., 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I find the post goes out to England, and all over Ireland, this night contrary to prac-

tice, to carry, I suppose, the good news as soon as may be ; I therefore write to let you know that Lake came up with the enemy, and has taken them all prisoners who were not killed. General Cradock slightly wounded. No officer killed.

I send the bulletin.

I have just received yours of the 3rd and 6th. Master Gough is not fair in imputing his dismissal either to you or the Board ; for the fact was, as I before stated, that nobody having heard of him for eighteen months, Webbe who lived near his official residence, applied to the Archbishop of Cashel for the office, stating that he was dead ; you wrote an official letter to the Board, and they, certain that the fact was so from his long silence and absence, signed a Commission for Webbe, and I believe Gough did not come *to life* for two years after.

As to his argument, of the Board ordering the person who did his duty to be paid out of his salary, it is always the case, and the order goes only to such time as they have leave for, but does not and cannot go to allow a man to act by deputy, as he supposes. The Board, at my desire, and I myself, have often represented his case, and he knows it.

Lord Fitzwilliam arrived here this day at the Hotel in Kildare Street, heard all news, wrote to Lord Castle-reagh, and went directly on board again, and sailed the same tide.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Walworth, near Derry, 16th Oct., 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—Glorious news; Sir John Warren* is come into Lough Swilly, with La Hoche, of eighty-four guns, and four large frigates, with four thousand troops, arms, &c., an immense quantity; and the other four frigates are so shattered they cannot escape: we have three frigates in pursuit of them.

Napper Tandy fled in the outset of the battle, and has escaped.

They had six thousand troops in all, and would have been landed in twelve hours.

I shall go to Lough Swilly to-morrow to see the fleet.

Yours ever,

J. B.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Derry, 17th October, 1798.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I am thus far on my way to Lough Swilly, where I am to dine with Lord Cavan, in company with Sir John Warren and Sir Thomas Byard. My account of last night is authentic, but I learn that the four French frigates which escaped have thrown over-

* John Borlase Warren, Admiral, K.B., and Bart.; M.P. for Marlow 1774; for ditto 1780; for Nottingham 1798 to 1806; appointed Ambassador to St. Petersburg 1802; created a Baronet 1775; K.B. 1794; married Caroline, daughter of General Sir John Clavering; died 1822.

board their guns, arm chests, &c., in order to escape ; we have three frigates, one the "Doris," which was not in the action, after them, and it is thought that Commodore Homes' squadron is off Black Sod Bay.

Our squadron consisted of—

Canada	. .	74	. .	Sir J. B. Warren.
Foudroyant	. .	80	. .	Sir Thomas Byard.
Robust	. .	74	. .	Thornborough.

This is the ship which fought five so well.

Magnanime	. .	40	. .	De Courcy.
Melampus	. .	38	. .	Moore.
Anson	. .	36	. .	Durham.
Ethalion	. .	38	. .	Countess.
Amelia	. .	36	. .	Herbert.

French :—

La Hoche, 84.
4 large frigates, taken.
4 frigates escaped.
4,000 troops, arms, &c.

I understand the brunt was borne by the Robust, Magnanime, Melampus, and Anson. The Hoche fought well, I hear.

Yours ever,

J. B.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, October 17th, 1798.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I presume that you are returned from your northern expedition, and that these few and hasty lines will find you in Dublin.

I have not yet seen Lord Clare, but he is likely to be here to-night, to meet the Chancellor, who is passing three or four days with me ; and on Friday we all go to Holwood.

The opinions lead towards an Union, strictly Protestant, and on the principle of not changing the constitution of either kingdom in Church or State. Mr. Pitt is very desirous to send you a summons to come over for a few conferences, but I wish to postpone his decision on that point till I can see Lord Clare, and learn how far it would be convenient or practicable. Mr. Pitt has conveyed an intimation to Mr. Foster that it will be also necessary for him to come. Take no notice of this till it is publicly known. It is a consideration of great difficulty in the arrangement, of greater difficulty in the execution, and after all precarious in its consequences ; but when opinions are properly formed for the best, they must be followed up. You shall hear again in a day or two.

It would be of use in the meantime, if you would order and methodise statements of revenue in war and peace, war and peace establishments, &c., debt and interest, &c., comparative duties on principal articles in the two countries, particularly on articles of consumption, for the old bone of contention as to countervailing duties must come forward.

We have a magnificent revenue for the year ending 10th October—above 23,000,000*l.* nett, of which 14,100,000*l.* are the old permanent taxes.

Yours sincerely and affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Nov. 9th, 1798.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I heartily rejoice to hear of your safe arrival. The very dangerous illness of our third boy has obliged us to decline for the present the visits of all our friends, except Sir Walter Farquhar and Dr. Robertson. That restriction, however, will in no degree prevent our receiving you, in any event. We have been used to meet under the pressure of domestic misfortune, and we shall be sincerely happy to see you, whenever you find it convenient, for as much, for as long, and for as often, as you like. We have always a warm bedchamber, well aired, at your service.

Your first business will be to see Mr. Pitt, and to have a full conversation with him. You know that you may talk with him with the most unreserved confidence. He will not commit your name, nor mention one word of what you say, except to me, to whom you would choose to have it known.

We had a project to have persuaded you to bring your venerable friend Colonel Barré, for a couple of days, to this place, but at this moment we are not in spirits for it.

Our poor little boy is without pain, cheerful, playful, and in the most perfect possession of all his faculties, but terribly emaciated by the constant struggle of the heart against the increasing pressure of the internal swelling.

Yours very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

No. 12, Stanhope Street, 10th Nov., 1798.

MY DEAR LORD,—I this day saw Mr. Pitt, and had a long conversation with him, by which I find that he is extremely anxious on the subject we conversed upon, but not yet determined on any plan; I represented to him the necessity of taking some immediate measures, in order to know what might be the opinion of gentlemen, and to prevent improper advantage being taken of Government, in which he agreed, and said that when the Chancellor got over, that would be settled. I took the liberty of stating to him the peculiar situation you stood in, when he told me that was at an end, and that you now stood upon your own bottom; of which give me leave to wish you joy.

You will see in all the papers of this day the most extraordinary piece of nonsense, signed Henry Grattan, that he ever produced. Passion has deprived him of his reason.

Barré is not in town, but is very well, and in good spirits.

I am, my dear Lord, very sincerely, your faithful, humble servant,

J. B.

LORD CASTLEREAGH TO MR. BERESFORD.

Phoenix Park, 24th Nov. 1798.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have postponed thanking you for your letter, in hopes of sending you some news. Lord

Cornwallis has been engaged this week in sounding the principal persons in town, with the exception of Lord Pery, who sees the objections in a strong point of view; the others are disposed to entertain the question, some with greater degree of preference than others. The lawyers are more inclined to reason on the subject than they were some time back; they are by no means unanimous; the malcontents still have it.

Cork is, I am told, strongly for it; Limerick also. The subject, though much talked of, is little understood. We shall endeavour in a few days to have it stated; it is necessary to encourage the discussion, else there is some degree of danger of its being disposed of by acclamation. How long do you look to remain? I do not yet foresee whether I shall be able to get away for a short time or not. The country is pretty much as you left it. The Orangemen and Catholics likely to quarrel in the county of Derry.

With great respect and regard, my dear Sir, ever yours,

CASTLEREAGH.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Dec. 22nd, 1798.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—You pass a sad time in this country, and we are heartily sorry for it; we are also sorry for ourselves, as your kindness would have led you to this place, and you are one of the very few whom, under our present circumstances, we could like to see.

Your countrymen seem to be completely absurd on the subject of the Union. I shall not, however, be sorry that the rejection of it should be their own act and deed. A day may come when they will wish for it without being able to obtain it.

Are you not amused by the impudence of the miscreants of the Directory, who, after dilating on their own "generosity and moderation," accuse the King of Sardinia of "a train of crimes against the French Republic"? They, of course, are preparing to rob and murder him; and yet I hope and believe that the day of just punishment is approaching.

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Christmas Day, 1798.

"Multos et felices!"

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—It is chiefly to express my concern at your severe illness that I write to-night. We almost despair of seeing you again here before you avail yourself of your convalescence to move homewards. I will contrive to go up to you in Stanhope Street before you set off, if you cannot come to Eden Farm, but these ladies will not thank me for this arrangement. I know little of the political world since we parted, for we see nobody, and I have never stirred from home, except for one morning to Downing Street, on the 15th. I am to

pass two or three hours, by appointment, to-morrow morning at Holwood. In the meantime, I do not quite agree with you that it is decided to persevere in the measure of the Union. Perhaps, with all respect to the intemperate nonsense which they are talking in Dublin, it may be thought right here to offer the point without prejudice to a fair discussion, and I own that my wish is that it may be done, whatever may be the result.

I learn from Mr. Pitt, as well as from the newspapers, that Mr. Tierney* has been so kind as to force forward an honourable mention of me. It is a strange pity for a man of Tierney's understanding to have exposed himself to the opprobrium of being convicted in the opinion of the whole House of an insinuation not only impertinent but in direct opposition of the fact; his insinuation was, that a person who had resigned a large pension for a considerable office had availed himself of the interval to give the declaration of his income, and consequently had paid less than a tenth. Now I am the only person who quitted a considerable pension for an office, but there was not, and there will not be, any interval between the two, and I have paid not only a tenth but a fifth of my whole income, stating it even beyond the truth at 4000*l.* nett, above all deductions allowed by the Act. Mr. Pitt happened by good fortune to know the fact, because I had settled the calculation and minute with

* The Right Hon. George Tierney; M.P. for Southwark 1796; again 1802; for Bandon 1806; for Appleby 1813; for Knaresborough 1818, 1820, and 1826; appointed Treasurer of the Navy 1803; President of the Board of Control 1806; Master of the Mint 1827; married Miss Robarts; died 1830.

him in February before I forwarded it to the Bank, but otherwise the anonymous calumny might have had the effect of raising a few idle conjectures; as it was, the attack discredited the accuser, and gave credit to the accused. We are expecting with impatience the arrival of three Hamburgh mails. The weather abominable.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, 27th Dec., 1798.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have written an instructive and urgent letter this evening to Messrs. Abel, for the purpose of procuring the very best possible Chateau Margeaux claret for your venerable friend Colonel Barré.

Your account of Ireland is not exhilarating in the midst of this unamiable weather, but the new preparations for revolt seem to have no connection with the fermentation respecting Union, except that they furnish new arguments either for connecting your distracted country more intimately with England, or, if she has the perversity to choose to remain in a state of misery to herself and of risk and burden to England, at least to check that system of liberality and fostering protection which tended to increase Irish capital and prosperity and give extended means of mischief.

God knows what may be the result of your Jacobin

excesses, but as to the Union question I am, upon the coolest and most unprejudiced reflection, satisfied that we ought to bring it forward, and manage it in the discussion with moderation, liberality, and unchangeable good temper.

Mr. Pitt has requested me, if you should be well enough to come to this place for a couple of days before you set off, to carry you for a morning to Holwood, where, however, he will not be till next week. On Thursday and Friday I am likely to be in town to attend the Income Bill.

My dear Beresford, I am yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 24th Jan., 1799.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I wrote you two or three lines from my bed last night, merely to say that we were defeated to all intents and purposes.

I all along thought that Government were deceived in their numbers, and that this business was likely to end like the Irish Propositions. When the division came, the numbers were 106 and 105—many deserters on the side of Government, and the greatest violence on the part of Opposition. I never was witness to such a scene; you would have thought that you were in a Polish diet. Direct treason spoken, resistance to the law declared, encouraged, and recommended. I never heard such vulgarity and barbarism. I cannot bring myself to repeat what was said or done.

The result was that, with a majority of one, it was impossible to proceed, and Castlereagh was obliged to say that he would not press the measure while the disposition of the House was such. Mr. Ponsonby pressed him to declare how far he meant to relinquish the measure, but Sir J. Parnell interfered, and stated that in Lord Castlereagh's situation it was impossible for him to answer such a question. This pacified for the moment, but I fear that the Speaker has persuaded them to insist on a total relinquishment of the measure, and to oppose the Address on the Report until such a declaration is made. What will be done I know not; the House is now sitting: I am very unable to go there, but though relapsed, I have desired them to send for me if I can be of any use.

It is said that the Opposition have received some reinforcements since the division. Sir John^a and Mr. Blackwood^b are arrived and with them. Conolly and I are ill.

Our second division, that for the Address, after the rejection of the Amendment, was 107 to 105. Two, therefore, taken from ours, and two added to theirs, would make them 107, and us 105. But I trust that

^a Sir John Blackwood, second Baronet, son of Sir Robert Blackwood and Joyce Leeson; born 1721; M.P. for Bangor 1768; for Killeleagh 1776 and 1783; for Bangor 1790; for Killeleagh 1797; married, 1751, Dorcas Stevenson, created Baroness Dufferin; died 1799, within a month after this debate.

^b Mr. Blackwood, his eldest son, afterwards James, Lord Dufferin; born 1755; M.P. for Killeleagh 1790 and 1797; M.P. in Imperial Parliament, 1807, for Helston; 1812, for Aldborough; married, 1801, the Hon. Anne Foster, daughter of the Speaker; died 1836.

many who went a certain length will not join in this plan. I should hope Parnell will not, and many others, but there is no answering for the heat and violence of party.

The sword is now fairly drawn, and the Speaker will now attempt to force Government, and try who shall rule Ireland. He will be very troublesome, and will be joined by the Ponsonbys, and followed by many well-meaning people; but he will not prevail at the end, unless through the pusillanimity of Government. At this moment I speak only my conjectures; a few days will open things. There were the greatest rejoicings last night through the city—bonfires, illuminations, &c. The mob drew the Speaker home; they broke all windows not illuminated, amongst others the Chancellor's. He fired on them, and dispersed them immediately.

I am able to give you a very indistinct account of the business, for I am known to be confined and obliged to let in people; I have been forty times interrupted writing this letter.

Mr. Johnstone,* whom I sent to the House, is just returned, and tells me things are very violent there, and that I am likely to be sent for directly; so I must conclude and prepare.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

* Robert Johnstone, M.P. for Hillsborough 1790 till the Union; called to the bar 1776; appointed Counsel to the Revenue Board 1797; Justice of Common Pleas 1801; removed 1807; died 1833.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 25th Jan., 1799.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—The House sat till seven this morning; the debate was on expunging the words which stated, that we would take the part of the King's speech into consideration which related to "uniting more closely, &c., &c." The result was, we were beaten by five. I was very ill, and not sent for. Mr. Conolly was ill. Sir Hercules Langrishe was, I hear, ill, and one of the Knoxes; but had we all been there, we should have been defeated by one. I am afraid to write to you as to who did not perform their professions, as I hear different stories, and I would not willingly misrepresent any one. Government will detail that. When they carried this question, Mr. Ponsonby moved a substantive resolution, containing his amendment of Tuesday, and endeavoured to pledge the House *in eternum* against the measure; but Lord Cole,^a John,^b and Ogle, and young Fortescue,^c opposed him, and said that, although they would not dispose of their constituents' interests, they were as unwilling to pledge themselves or future constituents or Parliaments,

^a John Willoughby, Lord Cole, eldest son of William, first Earl of Enniskillen, and Ann Corry; born 1768; M.P. for county Fermanagh from 1790 till the Union; and in the Imperial Parliament; succeeded his father 1803; married, 1805, Lady Charlotte Paget; died 1840.

^b John Claudius Beresford, third son of Mr. Beresford; born 1766; M.P. for Swords 1790; for city of Dublin 1797; again for city of Dublin in Imperial Parliament 1800 and 1802; for county of Waterford 1806 and 1807; died 1843.

^c William Fortescue, third son of Right Hon. James Fortescue and Miss Hunter; M.P. for borough Monaghan 1797.

or attempt to prevent them from entering into a Union if they chose.

Mr. Ponsonby saw that he could not carry the country gentlemen with him, and he desisted. I am writing to you to-night without full information ; as soon as I can write with more certainty, I will ; but in the meantime, I conjure you to proceed with caution and coolness, and you will carry your point. If no violent steps are taken, the business of the session will go on smoothly, and Mr. Ponsonby will not be able to form an efficient party ; if, on the contrary, the people are agitated, all will run into party, and you will set up the agitators and make them strong and formidable. Leave the business of an Union, now impressed on the minds of the people, to work as it may, and when it is again brought forward, it will be so with more advantage, and be assured that the present agitations of the minds of men, Democrats, Dissenters, and Papists, if they are left alone, will branch out into various and different combinations.

My son John has resigned his office ; this cannot be pleasant to me, but I think he is right to do so.

I am rather better this evening, although ill and not high in spirits, but

Ever yours,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 26th Jan., 1799.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—Every hour opens new events. In the last debate the vanity of Mr. Barrington^a let out that there was a negotiation going on between the opposers of the Union and the Roman Catholics, for the purpose of obtaining their assistance against the measure. When he had let out so much, I understand that two or three of his party pulled him down, and stopped him going further. This has given alarm to the Protestant opposers, and may produce good effects.

Another idea is gone abroad, and believed by the citizens, that Lord Cornwallis protected the rebels and urged them on, for the purpose of promoting the Union. The third matter you may depend upon, for I heard it from Mr. Woodmason, viz. that Denis Bowes Daly called on him this day, and told him that the calamity of a Union would not have been prevented but for the active interference of the Speaker, and that he had been at La Touche's house, who had directly subscribed 1000*l*. and at Sir Thomas Leighton's, who he did not doubt would do the same; and he pressed Mr. Woodmason for a like subscription towards making the Speaker remuneration. Thus you see what plans are in agitation. The Ponsonbys want to secure Foster to their party, or rather faction, and then to fight Government in every possible

^a Sir Jonah Barrington, Knight; called to the bar 1787; M.P. for Clogher 1798; Judge of Admiralty Court 1797. The author of several works on Ireland, more remarkable for the miraculous than for correct and authentic information.

way. Foster is too cunning for them : he will go just as far as his interest urges him, but he will not tie himself down to those gentlemen. I am certain that he will make use of them as far as he can to drive Lord Cornwallis out of this country, but I imagine that he will distinguish between him and Government, as far as he can. The folly and malice by which everyone is pursued in this country, who supported the Union, is beyond belief. Lord Ormonde^a and Lord Westmeath^b are in debt, and the traders to whom they are indebted sent in their bills, and not being paid directly, they have procured executions. The goods were actually advertised before the execution was laid on. This is going rather far. To-day Lords Glentworth^c and Donoughmore were assaulted in the street, going to the House. In short, there is an attempt to beat down every one.

Yours ever,

J. B.

^a Walter Butler, Earl of Ormonde, son of John, seventeenth Earl, and Lady Anne Wandesford; born 1770; M.P. for county of Kilkenny 1790; succeeded his father 1796; created Marquis 1816; married, 1805, Anastasia Clarke; died 1820.

^b George Frederick Nugent, Earl of Westmeath, son of Thomas, sixth Earl, and Catherine White; born 1760; M.P. for Fore 1780 to 1792; succeeded his father 1792; married, first, 1784, Marianne Jefferies; secondly, 1797, Lady Elizabeth Moore, daughter of Charles, Marquis of Drogheda; died 1814.

^c Edmund Pery, Lord Glentworth, son of William Cecil, first Lord, and Jane Walcot; born 1758; M.P. for county of Limerick 1786 to 1794; succeeded his father 1794; created Earl of Limerick 1803; married, 1783, Alice Ormsby; died 1844.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Monday, 28th Jan., 1799.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I am glad to congratulate you on anything, and in the present moment subjects of congratulation are scarce, but I sincerely congratulate you on having accomplished your journey without injury, and I hope with advantage to your health; exclusive of the value of your health, it was much to be wished that, with your manly and consistent character, you should be present at the Tuesday's debate. We learned that result on Saturday afternoon, and yesterday I passed the day at Holwood. I have complimented Lees upon the Post Office annunciation of our victory on that occasion; but I feel no difficulty in saying to you that we are very much mortified. But we are by no means discouraged, and it is the decided and firm intention of this Government to prosecute the attempt to its completion, not however with haste or intemperance, but steadily and effectually, and by such explanations and inquiries as may satisfy your good countrymen, whenever they shall be pleased to think for themselves, and to impose a little silence on their brawlers and caballers, that the Union is necessary both for their commercial interests and individual security, at least as much as for the general happiness and security of the empire.

There will, I suppose, be more turnings out necessarily. I should hope, however, that Lord Cornwallis will not touch the small and unostensible offices of the kind to which you allude. It seems to me difficult not to dispossess the Speaker's son. By-the-bye, there has been

in the conduct of the father a degree of violence very unworthy of his character even as a sensible man, exclusive of many other considerations. I was glad to hear that the Address was moved by Lord Tyrone. Is it true that some others of Lord Waterford's friends were shy of the question? I am looking, not without some little anxiety, to the difficulties which you will all have in Parliament against the Army of Martyrs. That army, however, must in no degree be given way to; it may give trouble, but I do not know that it can do any essential harm.

No more at present.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dublin, 31st Jan., 1799.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—You will have seen that it was not without opposition that the House adjourned to this day se'nnight, so we have a short respite.

Lord Castlereagh and the Chancellor called here yesterday; from them I learned that Mr. Pitt is resolved to go on in your Parliament and pass his resolutions. This is exactly according to my idea so far; and I hope that he will proceed also in his arrangement of the measure itself so as to be able to produce the detail whenever it shall be necessary. His resolutions, and the debate which I hope will be on them, will open people's

eyes here, and cut up many of the foundations on which the Opposition go, and by which they are now able to raise the voice of the country against a Union. Government here keeping perfectly quiet, men's minds will subside, and they will read with more coolness the plan that shall be stated by Mr. Pitt, and I have great hopes that we shall soon see people changing their opinions.

The Ponsonbys have been much disappointed in not being able to raise their faction into strength by the opposition to the Union ; but the country gentlemen have come across them in every attempt, and declared that their opposition was to the single measure of Union, and that they would in all things else support Government. An intrigue has been carrying on between certain of the Opposition and the Roman Catholics, which has been interrupted also by the country gentlemen. Mr. Barrington let it out of the bag, on which there was an immediate threat from the country gentlemen that they would desert them. The Papists are endeavouring to work with both parties, but there are great embarrassments in their way—the Speaker and Co. on one side, and the Chancellor and Co. on the other ; they will be much perplexed to know how to act.

There was a transparency, a gentleman assured me, up over a door in Grafton Street, stating that subscriptions were taken in there for the Speaker. I asked some others whether they saw this, but they did not ; however, the endeavour to raise a subscription is continued.

The linen drapers of the north have been informed

that England is to increase the duties on foreign linens 10*l.* per cent., and to raise a revenue of 10*l.* per cent. on Irish, thereby giving a preference to English and Scotch linens. This is to raise the north ; you may guess the quarter this comes from.

There have been some strong measures attempted in the Four Courts. Yesterday was Motion day ; when the Chancellor came into Court, he called upon Mr. Duquerry, the senior King's Counsel in Court, who made his motions ; the Attorney and Solicitor General having come into Court in the meantime, were called on, and moved : he then called on Mr. Saurin, who has a Patent of Precedence, after Attorney and Solicitor General ; he said he could not move before Mr. Fitzgerald, late Prime Sergeant. The Chancellor told him that if he declined he would not call on him again ; he did decline, so the Chancellor went on calling, and the lawyers bowing and declining, until it came to a Mr. O'Grady,^a who made his motions ; and then until it came to J. Beresford,^a Tuam's son, who made his, no one else choosing to move.

The Chancellor addressed them, and told them that

^a Standish O'Grady, son of Darby O'Grady, of the county of Limerick, and Mary Smith ; born 1766 ; called to the bar 1787 ; appointed Attorney-General 1803 ; Chief Baron of Exchequer 1805 to 1831 ; created Viscount Guillamore 1831 ; married, 1790, Catherine Waller ; died 1840.

^b John Beresford, second son of William, first Lord Decies, Archbishop of Tuam, and Elizabeth Fitz Gibbon ; born 1777 ; called to the bar 1797 ; Purse Bearer to Lord Clare till his death in 1802 ; he then left the bar and took holy orders ; married, 1810, Charlotte Horseley, of Bolam, Northumberland ; succeeded his father as second Lord Decies 1819.

he saw what they were at—that this was a contest of the King's Counsel against the King's prerogative, and it must end to their loss ; that at present he would only discharge all notices with costs, in which he would persevere every day ; and if they went on, he would be obliged to state their conduct to Government. He then adjourned. Thus things stand.

The French have certainly informed their agents here that they will be on our coast before the 10th of February, and the rebels believe it, and are preparing for action. Now, whether they come or do not, be not surprised at an insurrection ; the rebels are up in Galway, and have done great mischief by destroying cattle, &c., and they destroy Papists' as well as Protestants' cattle. The mail coaches are now regularly robbed, by a banditti of from twenty to thirty men ; the proprietors have lost, in ten days, thirty-six horses, and being this day refused compensation, they have declined to run any longer, so we have no post now.

I am knocked up again worse than ever. I found the change of weather coming on last night, and my leg was too true a barometer.

Everything looks ill in Parliament, but be not dismayed : it will grow better every day. The country gentlemen will desert the faction and not support them, except on the one question, and even on that they will split if Government be but quiet for a little time.

I am inclined to think that all will be ultimately well.

Yours ever,

J. B.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Thursday, 31st Jan., 1799.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have been much employed with Mr. Pitt in looking into Irish accounts, preparing English accounts, motions, &c. We are by no means discouraged by what has happened among you. It was a momentary vexation, and I am seriously sorry that it has thrown some of our best friends into the fangs of the cabal. I feel no concern for Foster, and besides, he will contrive to turn it to his account somehow or other. Neither am I much concerned for Parnell. I am heartily grieved that your son should be in the scrape, yet I do not see how he could avoid it under the circumstance of being a popular representative, and probably also under the impression of acting from a genuine and rooted opinion. Mr. Pitt entertains a due and cordial sense of the very friendly and steady conduct pursued by you, and by your connections, and by Lord Tyrone and by his.

It appears clearly enough, that if a little time and more management had been employed, the point might have been carried with a good majority in Parliament. I much fear that the Castle communications are not well calculated for the meridian of the country.

However, the result may in the end be more beneficial than a victory in the first instance. The fermentation is subsiding and will subside, and plain truth and plain sense will come forward.

Mr. Pitt will probably exhibit both the one and the

other this evening, in the finest speech that he has ever made. Mr. Long* and I are taking measures to have the best possible notes of it taken, that it may be printed and sent amongst you. It will open the whole question, and state his firm decision to go forward, in the reliance that Ireland will understand the question, and will then become ready to give a fair discussion to it. We are solicitous to have better accounts of your health, "*quod rerum omnium est primum.*" We shall settle in town next week. Who is that Mr. William Smith? His speech strikes me as most to the purpose of any that I have seen.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Saturday, Feb. 2nd, 1799.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Mr. Pitt's speech on the Irish business surpassed even the most sanguine expectations of friends, and perhaps even any former exhibition of Parliamentary eloquence. It will be correctly

* The Right Hon. Charles Long, fourth son of Beeston Long and Susannah Cropp; born 1760; M.P. for Rye 1789; again 1790; for Midhurst 1796; for Wendover 1802; for Haslemere 1806, 1807, 1812, 1818, and 1820; appointed Secretary to Treasury 1791 till 1801; Lord of the Treasury 1804; Chief Secretary of Ireland 1805; Paymaster-General 1807 till 1826; created, 1826, Lord Farnborough; married, 1793, Amelia, daughter of Sir Abraham Hume, Bart.; died 1838.

published next week, and shall be forwarded to you for the fullest and most extensive circulation through Ireland.

As to other considerations I cannot write to-day. The weather is most abominable; we are occupied in packing up to remove to town, and we are this morning much grieved by a report, through Paris, of the death of Prince Frederic of Orange, for whom we felt most cordial admiration and respect, and with whom, as well as with his mother, we have been accustomed to live in great friendship. I just receive, also, the account that one of my nieces has lost her husband suddenly. He leaves her in good circumstances, but with seven infant children.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

I enclose a "Morning Chronicle," that you may see the Opposition account, which is not unfair.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

6th Feb., 1799.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—Yours of the 28th arrived with three packets on Monday. I do not wonder that you should have been mortified at the events of the 22nd and 24th ultimo, more especially considering the numbers which you were informed would support the measure, which when I was in London were said to be 200. With my utmost diligence I could make out no

more than 133, in which I included some placemen who voted against the measure; and 102 I concluded dead against it, 58 doubtful, and 7 absent—that is, vacancies.

There were many extraordinary causes which went to aid in your defeat. The prejudices and fears of the city of Dublin were against you; the public clamour was quadrupled by the bad treatment which the Yeomanry conceived that they had received. It does not signify going into the particulars, it is enough to say that they considered themselves ill used, and that the loyal inhabitants thought themselves also treated in like manner, and therefore, instead of endeavouring to keep peace and quiet, they either stood neuter or joined in the clamour. This I have from several citizens not ill-inclined to the measure.

The relations of the Castle with individuals in the country was much against you. Where there was no sort of communication, either convivial or on business, with gentlemen previous to bringing forward this measure, how could it be expected that there could be an advantageous commencement of negotiation in the first instance, and that, too, carried on by two men neither of whom are well adapted for the purpose? I have put the case too weakly; for there were circumstances which totally cut off all possibility of negotiation with some of those who, on this occasion, opposed, I may say, Lord Cornwallis, but who heretofore were steady supporters of Government. I mean in particular the Enniskillen and Kingston connections. The former brought nine, the latter five, votes against the measure. Thus:—

Lord Cole	Lord Kingsborough
Colonel Lowry Cole	Robert King
A. Cole Hamilton	Henry King
Owen Wynne	John King
Lord Corry, and his four Members.*	Gilbert King.

Thus fourteen of the friends of Government were transferred to the other side, making a difference of twenty-eight. Look to the county Members. You had seventeen with you, against you thirty-four; just double. This was owing in a great degree to the fear, that if there was to be only one Member for each county, the present weaker Member must be thrown out, and at any rate the successful Member would be liable to be put to more expense than heretofore.

As to the boroughs, many of the proprietors are very poor, and have lived by the sale of them. Upon the late general election boroughs did not sell readily, and several of the proprietors were obliged to come in themselves. They cannot be expected to give up their interest for nothing; and those who bought their seats cannot be expected to give up their term for nothing. All these, and other circumstances, have concurred to defeat you. If, however, Mr. Pitt sets out upon a fixed and settled plan, and is content to work quietly and slowly, you will succeed, for you will be gaining strength every day, while clamour will be subsiding; and if at the same time Lord Cornwallis could be prevailed on to take measures to put down the rebellious, who are now

* For Belturbet, Charles King and Th. Townsend; for Ballyshannon, David Babington and Sir W. Richardson.

so insolent as constantly, in both playhouses and elsewhere, to clap for the memory of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the Sheares, Oliver Bond, &c., while no notice is taken, which dispirits the loyalists, increases clamour, and causes the timid to imagine that, if the Union took place, rebellion would break out, while they see no measures taken to meet the event. I do assure you it did influence several to vote against the measure, under the impression of the impropriety of the time for introducing the Union.

I am better of my gout, and able to hobble about with one crutch. I expect my family in town to-morrow, from the North. I have been living alone for a fortnight, a thing I am not much used to.

This instant the packet of Thursday is arrived, and your letter of that day. You ask me, Is it true that some of Lord Waterford's friends were shy of the question? It is a misrepresentation. My son John voted against us, but he told Government all along that he must do so. What they might have done about his office, I know not; but he resigned it, and his reason was, that as he was determined to support Government on other questions, he did not choose his doing so should be attributed to his wish to redeem his place; he therefore felt sore, and would resign.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, Thursday, 7th Feb., 1799, 5 p.m.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Dinner is on the table, and the ladies are voracious and importunate; but I write to say that I have received yours of the 31st. I learn with real pain that you continue so much indisposed. Your worthy friend Colonel Barré has been very ill; but Sir W. Farquhar, who attends him, happened to call on me, and to say that he is much better, and in no danger.

The weather is severe beyond example, and bears hard on elderly people and young children.

Your son John called on me to-day, and I was sincerely glad to see him. He talked in an honourable and gentlemanlike style of all that had lately happened among you, and he authorised me to contradict to Mr. Pitt some very strong expressions said to have been used in the late Dublin city debate.

He has a frank from me for the purpose of sending you, by this post, a copy of Mr. Pitt's speech. Your knowledge of men and of things will enable you to collect accurately from that speech the line meant to be pursued here on Irish businesses—neither violent nor timid, but decidedly moving towards the only measure which can put an end to your confusions, but which measure cannot be forced till there shall exist a pretty general conviction among you of its utility. There will probably be a long debate to-day in the House of Commons. I will write more fully.

There are no news from the Continent. I was under

the painful necessity of making a visit this morning to the Princess of Orange, on the supposed death of her son, who was an excellent young man.

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

14th Feb., 1799.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I just write you a few lines to tell you that on to-morrow we are to have a grand exhibition of the troops on both sides. The Speaker has directed the Opposition to propose a measure to counteract the stated determination of Mr. Pitt to persevere in the object of Union. Lord Corry* gave notice, but did not tell what the measure was. He avowed that he meant to move a Committee, in which some measure was to be proposed. It is well understood that this is for the purpose of the Speaker's having an opportunity of speaking. It is intended to oppose the Committee. If we should prevail, it is intended, we hear, to ask leave for him to speak from the chair, which I understand is to be opposed.

I think we shall have a good majority; and if we have, the game will turn speedily.

I shall go to the House, although ill able; it is sup-

* Somerset Lowry Corry, Lord Corry, son of Armar, first Earl of Belmore, and Lady Margaret Butler; born 1744; M.P. for county Tyrone 1797 to 1802; succeeded his father 1802; married, 1800, Lady Juliana Butler, daughter of Henry, Earl of Carrick; died 1841.

posed we shall be up all night. I fear I shall be knocked up.

The packet, in which my speech of Mr. Pitt's must be, has not come in; that of the next day has, and has brought many of them.

Yours in haste,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

16th Feb., 1799.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I some time ago sent to you, Mr. Pitt, and Rose, the speech of Mr. William Smith* on the competency of Parliament to unite the two kingdoms. You since ask me who he is. He is the son of Baron Smith, one of the Judges, and is himself a lawyer. He has been in Parliament since 1795, and has been almost always in Opposition. He is a very whimsical man, eccentric and ill-tempered; goes his own way without connection, and is not to be influenced even by his father. He certainly was very able on this occasion, and is a very ingenious young man, but would be, I believe, very impracticable and hard to act with.

Yesterday came on our battle. Lord Corry moved that the House should resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the state of

* William Smith, son of Sir Michael Smith, Bart., Baron of the Exchequer, and afterwards Master of the Rolls, and Mary Cusack; M.P. for Lanesborough 1794; for Donegal borough 1797; called to the bar 1788; appointed Solicitor-General 1800; Baron of the Exchequer 1801; succeeded as Baronet 1809; died 1836

the nation. This he did without stating any ground for such inquiry, or intimating what was to be done in the Committee. In the course of the dullest debate I ever heard, he let out that he meant to propose an address to the King, to express the opinion of our House of Parliament against an Union, to counteract Mr. Pitt's resolutions. The whole of the debate was supported on the ground of Mr. Pitt's speech, which was represented as containing false statements, &c., and much coarse and improper language was made use of. The Opposition were very much elevated and insolent, and were making bets that they would carry the question. However, on division, we had 123 to 103. Mr. Blake was objected to by the Speaker, as he was on the steps of the letter-room when the question was put, which place the Speaker declared not to be in the House, and therefore would not suffer him to be told. This passed while the minority were in the lobby, and proceeded entirely from the Speaker. Mr. Blake would have made us 124.

This majority will, I think, settle the business of the session, as Opposition will not be able to keep their friends together when they see that they are not omnipotent; so that if Government are active to gain friends, they will be able soon to curb the exorbitant insolence of our great man.

By the Irish papers you will see that before we went into the business a Member observed to the Speaker that there were strangers in the gallery; the result was, that the Speaker, from the chair, declared he must put the orders into execution, unless some Member moved

that it be repealed. This suggestion was immediately adopted, and we are now a French Assembly.

We shall want five millions at least, and no preparation, except the two millions secured by Mr. Pitt, nor is there a tax provided or thought of yet. A member of Opposition has just told me that they do not mean to go further against the Union, but I suspect that they will tease and badger Government, and particularly the new Chancellor of the Exchequer.* Our officers are very inadequate.

There is a letter in town this day which says that there are three ships on the coast, supposed to be two French frigates and a ship of the line. This letter was received by Colonel Jackson, Member for Mayo, and Colonel of the Mayo Militia, but Government have no account of them.

Pikes are making, and every preparation for a visit. The French are expected daily, and have sent assurances to their friends that they would be here by the 14th.

Ever yours,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

18th Feb., 1799.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I have waited until this hour, half-past eight P.M., in hopes of hearing what was done in the House of Commons; for you must know I am again laid up in consequence of the long sitting of

* Mr. Corry, who succeeded Sir John Parnell 1799.

Friday last; but no news is yet come; the cause of curiosity is a report that the Speaker would, in the Committee of Supply this day, make a speech in answer to Mr. Pitt, under pretence of stating the trade of the kingdom to show its capability. I had made some notes on the subject, which, as I could not go myself, I have given to Mr. Johnson, but I do not think the Speaker will speak upon this occasion, as I have reason to believe he means to publish a pamphlet on the subject.

I am of opinion that, except a little teasing opposition to expose the incapacity of individuals, we are done with opposition for this year; I am sure that our opponents are divided and broken among themselves. Mr. Ponsonby sees that he can do nothing, and he knows that his character was totally gone before this session: he thinks that his opposition to Union has gained him some credit, and on that he will endeavour to regain a character, and wipe away the impressions which the public entertained of his connection with the rebels, or at least Jacobins; and I think he will now support Government, or at least not oppose them.

As to the Speaker, he must see he is not able to carry his point; he cannot but perceive that the country gentlemen are afraid both of him and Ponsonby, and he sees the error of having brought again forward the question of Union, and not being content with the victory he had, and he knows that over that he has been beaten, and that our numbers would increase on every question. My opinion, therefore, is, that he will endeavour to persuade Government that he never meant to oppose them in anything except the one question, Union,

and that therefore he will now support; I know these are not the opinions of other people, but, however singular I may be, they are mine.

The House is up, and no speech from the Speaker.

Yours ever,

J. B.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, March 14th, 1799.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Lady Auckland and I are much annoyed by the account which you give of your health; but we are willing to hope that your strong fit of thirty-six hours will have enabled you to send a better account before you receive this note.

I hope to send to you some very curious additional accounts respecting the British and Irish commerce by the post of next Monday. It has been a work of great labour for poor Irving and his department, but will be of great importance in all its bearings, and far beyond the mere consideration of Union.

With regard to that consideration, however, there will be two results perfectly tenable, in defiance of Mr. Foster: the one, that if you have no Union, your commerce, wealth, and capital, must remain subject and subservient to the absolute will and pleasure of Great Britain; and the other, that if you will condescend to put yourselves on a par with us, your commerce will not only be secured but greatly increased.

We talk of having our Irish debate on Tuesday next;

but our Chancellor * is nearly as ill as you have been ; and unless he recovers fast, I think that we shall postpone the consideration till after the recess.

All well under this roof.

I am, my dear Beresford, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, Thursday, 21st March, 1799.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—We enter to-day on a ten days' recess, which I shall be glad of; for though we have had no trouble with Opposition in Parliament, the mere details of momentous businesses necessary to be brought before Parliament have been very fatiguing.

I hope to obtain and send for you by this mail a copy of the report of the Secret Committee respecting treasonable practices. It is plentifully alarming, and I fear not exaggerated in any respect.

I have postponed the stating what I wish to state respecting Irish trade to our debate on the 4th instant. In truth, there are many points which I have not yet sufficiently examined. And I am desirous to be accurate, and to omit nothing material in a consideration which, when properly understood, will, more than any other, influence the adoption of Union among you. I hope that you will have looked with attention to the printed accounts which I have sent to you; and if any matter occurs that may throw light upon them from

* Lord Loughborough.

your side of the water, I wish that you would immediately state it to me. It was once wished that I should also have moved an address to the King for your Irish accounts; but I think that we do better in having the appearance of proceeding entirely calmly, and decidedly on English grounds of reasoning and information; using, at the same time, such particulars of Irish intelligence as we possess.

I must be able to state clearly what is the proportion in value of your commerce inwards and outwards, in four columns—Great Britain, British Colonies, United States, and the rest of the world. Also what is the amount of revenue received on your whole import and export trade in customs and customable excise; distinguishing what you receive from the trade of Great Britain and her colonies, and also what is the amount of duties received on the import of British manufactures and British produce; and on the export to Great Britain of Irish produce. This last includes your export of provisions to us and to the islands. On that subject of provisions I wish you would give me a little sense. I believe that, though it is an object of near two millions sterling, the whole amount is not more than about 30,000 head of cattle (for I conceive that an ox is equal to about three and a half barrels of salted beef) and about 50,000 hogs, all of which is so small a business in the scale of our national consumption that it will furnish good remark. What proportion does the above bear to the whole of your annual consumption of beef and pork?

I think that we give to you, and against the United

States, the exclusive supply of provisions—at least, in peace.

Can you have the goodness to send to me Mr. Foster's answer to the Address of his county? I have mislaid it. I think it was in that answer he gravely stated that the prevention of Union was the best mode of preserving the monopoly of the linen trade.

When the whole of my materials are collected and arranged, they will form a very curious statement.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Buxton Wells, 19th Aug., 1799.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I arrived here on Saturday, in such weather as I never before saw, and it has not since ceased raining. I wrote to you from Dublin, and told you that I was ordered here. I am much better this day, and I expect to drink the waters in two or three days. I sent you my pamphlet; I have not put my name to it, nor do I intend to do so.

I give you the history of it, which is as follows:—

Cooke wrote to me that he was about a pamphlet, in answer to many written at him, and that he intended to include the Speaker's, and he begged me to assist him in the trade part; I accordingly wrote what you now see, and sent it to him to make a portion of his pamphlet. His Excellency did not like Cooke's production, as there were some imprudences in it, and he stopped the publi-

cation, but they took my part, exactly as I sent it to Cooke, and printed it; but no one gave himself the trouble of attending to the press. I have made some corrections and additions, and send you a copy. If you think it worth while, you may send for Stockdale and let him print it. Pray correct anything you think wrong.

I mean to stay here as long as I can, so do not let me be called away until necessary. Write to me on the subject of what we are to do, and particularly your ideas upon the proportionate quantum of our contribution to the general fund.

Ever yours,
J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Aug. 23rd, 1799.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I write rather as fishing for another letter from you than as having anything to communicate. Lady Auckland and I are not quite at ease under the late accounts which you have given of your health; and we feel anxious to know the success of your bark regimen, and also of the Buxton waters, if you should try them. In looking forwards to your coming southwards with recovered health, and to stay some weeks among us for Union discussions, I hope it is superfluous to assure you that we shall be happy to see you in this House, not as a visitor, but as a permanent guest, in a quiet corner, with your books about you, and your papers, and for as long as you like.

In the meantime, the subject of Ireland remains in abeyance, and will continue so until the Continental expeditions are all put into action, which I do not think will be the case before the third week in September. At present, Mr. Pitt's entire mind is engaged in pushing naval and military operations; and though I passed the day quietly with him at Holwood on Monday last, hardly one word was said on Ireland, except that he told me he had received "the observations, and had perused a part of them, and was highly pleased with them." I thought myself at liberty to confide to him that they were your work; and I have given to him your corrected copy to be printed (I suppose by Wright, the Government printer) and circulated as soon as he can find time and thinks proper to bring the subject again under the remark of the public. At this moment, so good a work would not have its right effect here.

I have as yet only given a very cursory perusal to your observations, but so far as I can foresee, I shall derive great information from a careful perusal. In truth, as yet I have hardly given a fair perusal to Mr. Foster's speech, for it appeared after our debates, and after I had adjourned the consideration in my mind.

There is a great deal to be said on the subject of Irish contribution; but it is too much for a letter, at least on a fine day, which this happens to be; for fine days are rare. I do not think that we have had three in the present summer.

I do not attempt to say anything about the foreign expeditions, for I really do not know the grounds of information by which His Majesty's Ministers are guided.

My personal knowledge, both of the Dutch people and of the nature of the Dutch coast, would incline me to be by no means sanguine as to success in any attempt on Zealand, and much less on Holland. The attack of Holland by the land, and from the German side, would give me better hopes, and at all events would add to the embarrassments of France. But in any case, the season is too far advanced to allow the expedition to be of much good unless there be sufficient reason to believe that the Dutch will rise against the French. I have no faith in Dutch energy.

All well here. I am, my dear Beresford, affectionately and sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

LORD CASTLEREAGH TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, Aug. 26th, 1799.

MY DEAR MR. BERESFORD,—I heard yesterday that you were better, but I wish to be assured of it from yourself. The Lord-Lieutenant has written to know at what time Ministers would wish us to be in London. Let me know what your wishes would be if there was no business in question, and I may be able to prevail on them to conform to what your health so much requires; we go on here tolerably well. The Anti-Unionists have been impudent enough to call the county of Galway, in hopes of converting Trench,* as they have done the Members for

* The Hon. Richard Trench, son of William, Lord Killconnell, and Anne Gardiner; born 1767; M.P. for county Galway

Tipperary.* Lord Downshire^b talks as hostilely as possible, and feels, I am persuaded, more so, but what he will do, depends, I rather think, on what appears feasible at the moment.

I sent your pamphlet to all the Ministers, and have this day received the highest encomiums on it, but this no doubt you have heard more directly. I sent it to Downshire; his comment is so curious that I must transcribe it: "The author seems to know nothing of the waste lands, leather, or potteries of Ireland or England. He seems to be a man of the closet, and to speculate upon different matters either for his own amusement or benefit, taking common talk for facts, and arguing upon theories without attention to practice." This little specimen of dispassionate criticism amused me excessively.

May^c saw the Lord-Lieutenant to-day: he talks cordially on the part of Lord Donegal.^d

A despatch this moment from England, says either the

1797 to 1805; succeeded his father as Earl of Clancarty 1805; appointed Postmaster-General of Ireland 1809; Ambassador at the Hague 1813; again 1817; created an English Peer 1815; married, 1796, Henrietta Staples; died 1837.

* Lord Mathew and Mr. Bagwell.

^b Arthur Hill, second Marquis of Downshire, son of William, first Marquis, and Lady Margaret Fitzgerald; born 1753; succeeded 1793; M.P. for the county Down from 1776 to 1793; married, 1786, Mary, Baroness Sandys; died 1801.

^c Edward May, eldest son of Sir Stephen May, Bart., father-in-law to Lord Donegal; succeeded his father, 1812, as Baronet; M.P. for Belfast from 1800 to 1814; died 1814.

^d George Augustus Chichester, Marquis of Donegal, son of Arthur, first Marquis, and Lady Anne Hamilton; born 1769; succeeded 1799; married, 1795, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward May, Bart.; died 1844.

middle or end of the month is the same to them—you, my dear Sir, must regulate it entirely by your own feelings ; I am sure it is equally convenient to every other person concerned to meet at one period or the other. I have full occupation here so long as I may remain, and the delay will enable me to do more, and furnish them with new materials for judging of our prospects.

Ever, my dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

CASTLEREAGH.

Pray let me hear from you by return of post.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Aug. 30th, 1799.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I wrote to Mr. Pitt, who is gone to Walmer, to endeavour to ascertain when you may be wanted ; I think certainly not before the middle of September, but I will let you know when I can learn.

We are all on the tiptoe of expectation for the result of the Dutch businesses—with report of surrenders of fleets, &c., &c., &c. ; but I suffer myself to believe nothing till I see a Government bulletin.

The Orange family, &c., &c., are staying here at present.

I have perused your observations, and with real great satisfaction and information. Foster's miscalculations had not escaped me, but you have placed them in the best light ; perhaps some of your positions might alarm our manufacturers.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD CASTLEREAGH TO MR. BERESFORD.

Phoenix Park, Sept. 2nd, 1799.

MY DEAR MR. BERESFORD,—The Duke of Portland being desirous that some time should be fixed for our meeting in London, Lord Cornwallis has fixed the 25th of this month, trusting that the interval will afford you as much Buxton water as is usually taken without a discontinuance. I shall leave this about the 15th, meaning to call on Lord Hertford * in my way. The Union continues to work favourably in the public mind, and we have got some recruits since you left us. If our people are all true, we are strong enough, but as this may not prove the case, we shall leave nothing undone to increase our force.

The return of the Brest fleet has a little revived the lower classes, but nothing very formidable is observable.

Ever, my dear Sir, most faithfully yours,

CASTLEREAGH.

* Francis Ingram Seymour Conway, second Marquis of Hertford, son of Francis, first Marquis, and Lady Isabella Fitzroy; born 1748; M.P. for Orford 1767 to 1794; succeeded his father 1794; appointed Master of the Horse 1804; Lord Chamberlain 1812; married, first, 1768, the Hon. Alice Windsor, daughter of Herbert, Viscount Windsor; secondly, 1776, the Hon. Isabella Ingram, daughter of Charles, Viscount Irwin; died 1822. Lord Hertford was uncle to Lord Castlereagh.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Monday night, 4th Nov., 1799.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Mr. Pitt desires me to propose to you to resume our conferences in Parliament Street, on Wednesday next, at eleven o'clock. I hope that our business is now drawing into a practicable shape, and, so far as may depend on us, to a creditable conclusion.

This is execrable weather, and if your constitution can bear it without suffering, you may consider yourself as proof against all attack till next November at least.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Wednesday night, 13th Nov., 1799.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—We are just returned from our excursion to Bulstrode, Richings, Eton, and Windsor.

In the bustle of our Irish discussions, I have, I believe, omitted to repeat to you (what, however, I hope is superfluous) that it is a most cordial pleasure to Lady Auckland, and to me, and to my daughters, to see you and yours whenever you like to come to us.

Lord and Lady Henley are coming for a few days; but Lord and Lady Hobart left us to-day, to go for a month into Lincolnshire, and we are likely to be found without any crowd, and often quite in a family way.

Mr. Pitt is desirous to reduce the result of our con-

ferences to the form of Parliamentary resolutions ; when brought to that form, they may merit a conference. And I think that something was said about a meeting to be appointed on Monday next in Parliament Street ; but I have not heard from any of our friends since we separated ; and the untoward circumstances of the war perhaps occupy all disposable attention in the present moment.

I hope that Mr. Wetherall is expediting the accounts.

Remember us kindly to your daughters ; and believe me, my dear Beresford, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

MR. COOKE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 23rd Nov., 1799.

DEAR BERESFORD,—I arrived on Sunday. All seems quiet. I hear, however, they are making clubs among the journeymen of the capital to oppose the Union.

Exchange still bad. The reasons are, the discount on our paper, the want of demand for linens, the want of orders for provisions. The latter will be eased in the spring ; and I suppose the demand for linen will revive when the prices are duly lowered, which have been enormous. Could you learn whether the foreign linens have undersold us ?

By the Treasury Abstract to Michaelmas it appears that the cash receipt for the last half year was as follows :—

Ordinary Revenue	£569,803
Stamps, Post Office and Treasury Receipts	112,999
	<hr/>
Consolidated Fund	682,802
Loan Duties	£786,685
Gain by exchange	16,585
	<hr/>
	803,270
	<hr/>
	1,486,072
Voluntary contributions	13,000
	<hr/>
Total Receipt	£1,499,072
	<hr/>

Is there not one line of duties the consideration of which has been omitted? I mean the duties on foreign articles coming through Great Britain.

By the Acts of Customs there is a difference of duty on all foreign articles when imported from the places of their growth directly, or when imported circuitously through Great Britain; and the duty is almost always less on the article coming through Great Britain than when coming directly from the place of its growth. The policy of this system was obvious, because Ireland was treated as a colony; but that relation being at an end, I conceive the system resulting from it should likewise terminate. This class of duties ought, therefore, to cease, and all goods should pay the same duties when imported circuitously as when imported directly, and so reciprocally.

If you have got the accounts, I hope you will have copies sent over.

The Jacobins are most indignant with Bonaparte. We know not how to speculate; but I think every change good, and the more violent the change the better.

Ever most sincerely yours,

E. COOKE.

Lord J. Beresford* will get the Deanery of Clogher. How are you?

MR. COOKE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 2nd Dec., 1799.

DEAR BERESFORD,—I thank you for your letter of the 27th.

With regard to the computation of the loss we shall suffer in revenue, Irving must be wrong from his own papers.

With respect to giving up the one-half Custom and one-third Subsidy, I conceive the point decided by the new Resolutions as they stand. Mr. Pitt always argued against the principle of retaining them, and confined all reasoning on the subject to the point of revenue.

Suppose a complete Union, and that all the counties

* Lord John Beresford, second son of George, first Marquis of Waterford, and Elizabeth Monck; born 1773; Dean of Clogher 1799; consecrated Bishop of Cork 1806; translated to Raphoe 1807; to Clogher 1819; Archbishop of Dublin 1820; Primate and Archbishop of Armagh 1822.

of Ireland stood related to English counties as every English county does each to the other, all ideas of export duties, one-half Customs, one-third Subsidies, must vanish.

This consummation cannot be expected at present. Suppose, then, the principles to be established by the Resolutions, and suppose a proviso, "that so long as the present duties on the export of the provisions or manufactures of Ireland to Great Britain shall be continued by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, the existing duties of one-half Custom and of one-third Subsidy on colony and foreign goods exported from Great Britain to Ireland shall continue to be retained."

Such a proviso would admit the true general principle, would allow the United Parliament to carry it into effect when expedient, and would prevent any argument arising from the loss of revenue at the present moment.

Why should Absentee Tax be meddled with, except so far as relates to offices to be held by persons who shall be elected to the British Parliament? There is a four-shilling tax on all offices in England, why not retain a similar tax on those officers of Ireland who are taxed already? The repealing the four-shilling tax would be an encouragement to absentees. I see nothing against the tax but the mere name. The principle of residence is in favour of it; surely there is no occasion to advert to it on the instant.

I was not right as to Blair's failure; he gives in his debts as 105,000*l.*, his property as 145,000*l.* He was

ruined by not confining himself to his iron trade, but by extending himself to general importation concerns—sugar, &c., &c.

I think with you as to the Marquis.

Ever yours,

E. COOKE.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Holwood, half-past 3 o'clock, 3rd Dec., 1799.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have only time to say that Mr. Pitt returns his warmest thanks for all your kind assistance. He is now prepared to carry to town on Thursday the corrected drafts of all the articles. We have also agreed to print a few copies of the several accounts of commerce and revenue (as soon as they can be completed) for private consideration. He does not wish to suspend your Bath excursion; but if anything arises to make it really material to have you go to Ireland through London, he will write to you, and in the meantime I will send you copies of the papers, &c., as soon as I receive them, and will write on other matters. So God bless you!

Yours, ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. COOKE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 11th Dec., 1799.

DEAR BERESFORD,—I trust matters are not doing amiss here; and instead of symptoms of confidence ap-

pearing in Opposition, one or two private offers prove that they really despair.

I have looked over our list, and though there will be twenty friends out of Parliament the first day, I conceive our majority will be decided and large.

Lord Oxmantown^a is at Bath. I know his friend Sir T. Fetherston^b wants to support. Could you or the Chancellor talk to him? He would give us the whole county of Longford.

I think the only jealousy will be as to the period of revision, and as to Ireland bearing common taxes with Great Britain when their debts shall be in the proportion of their contributions. This is an idle apprehension; for in order to reduce the debt of England and its charges to the proportion of the debt of Ireland, England must be discharged of 10,000,000*l.* a-year in taxes. And if that were the case, the remaining taxes would be fewer and lower than the taxes of Ireland; and in this supposition equality of taxation would be a benefit to Ireland.

I hope you make yourself strong. Keep Lord Clare a week longer if the waters agree with him.

Ever most sincerely,

E. COOKE.

Do you know anything about Synge?

^a Laurence Parsons Harman, Viscount Oxmantown, second son of Sir Laurence Parsons, Bart., and Ann Harman; born 1749; M.P. for county Longford 1776 to 1792; created, 1792, Baron Oxmantown; Viscount 1795; and Earl of Rosse 1806; married, 1772, Lady Jane King, daughter of Edward, Earl of Kingston; died 1807.

^b Sir Thomas Fetherston, son of Sir Ralph, first Baronet, and Sarah Wills; married Elizabeth Whiting; M.P. for county of Longford 1797, 1800, 1802, 1806, 1807, and 1812; died 1819.

MR. COOKE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 18th Dec., 1799.

DEAR BERESFORD,—The accounts go to-night; I hope they will prove right. I trust that you like the Donegal Address. It has had excellent effects. I hear of nothing bad; but have gleanings of converts. Lord Castlereagh will see Cane.* What is Power's^b real intention? I hear that he is likely to be influenced by Catholic feelings. We are assured that 30 of their 111 will not vote with the Opposition. It is suggested by the British Resolutions that the duties which are to remain on the native articles between the two countries are on revision to be lowered equally on certain principles.

By the new Resolutions those duties are to remain for twenty years, and then cease entirely, if the British Parliament shall please. This will be objected to:—first, these duties will produce 150,000*l.* a-year; secondly, they protect our manufactures. It will be said at the end of twenty years, Great Britain may at one blow take away our protection to our fabrics, and overwhelm them by her own, but still force us to find 150,000*l.* of new taxes upon articles of our own produce, which are now laid on articles of her produce, and thus injure us in a double manner. Should there not be some guard as to the manner of reducing duties? We have our comparative accounts made out on the value of beer, spirits (British and foreign), malt, tea, sugar, tobacco, wine:—

* James Cane, M.P. for borough of Ratoath.

^b Richard Power, M.P. for county of Waterford.

Average for three years in England . £45,025,204

Average for three years in Ireland . 5,995,544

Almost seven and a half to one. I have not so examined the accounts as to be sure that there are no errors.

Most truly yours,

E. COOKE.

MR. COOKE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Dublin, 14th Jan., 1800.

DEAR BERESFORD,—We have at last the amended Resolutions sent over, but no accounts. In the Contribution Resolution the provision is not inserted as to the time when the system of proportional contribution should cease and that of common taxes begin. This system can never with propriety commence till the present debts of the two kingdoms are extinguished, or until the charges of the British debt, compared with the charges of the Irish, shall be in the ratio of their respective contributions. I wish much such a provision to be specially inserted in the Resolutions, in order to obviate jealousy and cavil.

The anti-Union paper has commenced. It is not hitherto good.

The conversation of the Clubs is with us. They think we must succeed, and that the property is with us. The Anti-Unionists count upon 92 only, and I know they are deceived as to several in their list.

Lord Waterford is come up, but I have not seen him;

Lord Castlereagh tells me he is in good spirits. Lord Shannon is in rude health, and hearty. I think we gain ground every day.

Saunderson is come over ; he talks Union language, and says he must consult his constituents. Lord Maxwell^a is recovered, and he is an Unionist. I think we shall be able to get a declaration to them from Cavan. Lord Leitrim writes to Sneyd^b in great vexation as to Lord Clements.^c

Parnell thinks we are all humbugging, and that the game is meant to be abandoned. I am afraid, like all humbuggers, he will humbug himself, which I regret. His daughter is rather better, and he is coming up to town.

I hear little of the Speaker. I think we shall not be driven to famine. The potato harvest is excellent, and the crop not bad ; and grain is more deficient in quality than quantity.

You wrote that it was extraordinary that when exchange was so high in Dublin it should be as high in

^a John James Maxwell, Viscount Maxwell, only son of Barry, first Earl of Farnham, and Margaret King ; born 1760 ; M.P. for county Cavan from 1793 to 1800 ; succeeded his father 1800 ; married Grace Cuff 1784 ; died 1823.

^b Nathaniel Sneyd, the celebrated Irish wine merchant ; M.P. for Carrick 1790, till the Union ; for county of Cavan in the Imperial Parliament ; shot near the Bank of Ireland 1833.

^c Nathaniel Clements, Viscount Clements, son of Robert, first Earl of Leitrim, and Lady Elizabeth Skeffington ; born 1768 ; M.P. for Carrick 1790 ; for county Leitrim 1797, and in the Imperial Parliament ; succeeded his father 1804 ; married Mary Birmingham ; still alive.

London. Exchange is high in Dublin to the man who wants *to remit* money to London ; and it is high in London to the man who wishes money *to be remitted* to him thither from Dublin : but exchange is low in London to the man who having money in London wishes to remit it to Dublin, and *vice versa*.

I have been thinking on the state of exchange ; it seems to be thus :—

From the confusion of the three last years the usual imports did not take place ; but the crisis of rebellion being passed, the dangers of the French Revolution principles being over, men feel security and begin to trade and speculate as usual. They therefore begin to fill again their empty shops and warehouses, and the imports which ought to have been diffused through the last three years are crowded into the last half year. During this last period there has been a stagnation of exports ; the demand for provisions has been less than last year ; and the enormous price to which linens were pushed last year has checked their sales in London, and prevented, of course, the usual purchase at the market ; and at this crisis the failures at Hamburgh took place, and created a general stagnation and some bankruptcies.

Exchange, then, from these causes, has risen from par to 13 and 12 per cent. To whom is this an advantage ?

First, to the exporting merchants, who have value unpaid for abroad, and who are the persons who can sell bills.

Secondly, to Government, who have part of their loan in England unremitted.

Thirdly, to this country, so far as the remittance to absentees is concerned.

To whom is this state of exchange a disadvantage?—

First, to the importing merchants, who are obliged to pay so much more for their commodities.

Secondly, to the absentees.

Thirdly, to the Kitefliers.

Now, then, if Government were to interfere, what would be the effect?

They would injure the profits and speculations of the exporting merchants, diminish their spirit and exertions, by which alone exchange can be ultimately brought to a balance.

They would encourage the importers, make their import more, and by this means put off the day when exchange would naturally balance itself.

And they would give a premium against the exporting merchants to Kitefliers and absentees.

I trust, therefore, Mr. Pitt will not be induced to interfere.

Pray let me know who is at Bath. Is Clotworthy Rowley? * We meet the 15th of January.

Ever most sincerely yours,

E. COOKE.

* Clotworthy Rowley, third son of Admiral Sir W. Rowley and Arabella Dawson; called to the bar 1768; M.P. for Downpatrick 1771 till the Union; married Letitia Campbell; died 1805.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Jan. 20th, 1800.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I am in momentary expectation of a letter from you on the victorious result of Wednesday last. I learnt it by a Treasury messenger, and though I am aware that you have much trouble and many shabbinesses to expect and encounter before the business can be completed, I have no doubt that the Union will be carried into effect as proposed ; and under that persuasion, as it is the nature of the human mind to be always in pursuit of something, and to ponder upon it when attained, I am now somewhat *triste* under the idea of the change which we must risk in our own Constitution, and of the difficulties which must be surmounted before our new countrymen can be humanised to the degree that you and all of us must desire.

Bonaparte's new overture is less impertinent than the first, but equally indefinite, and without one syllable as to incorporated conquests, but desiring a peace, I suppose, in order to have time to crush the royalists.

Pray tell Mr. Corry that we have not yet received your Revenue accounts, to form the counterpart to ours.

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

4th Feb., 1800.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I wrote you a line last night, just to say that the business of Union was obliged to be postponed, on account of Lord Castlereagh's illness; it is intended to be taken up to-morrow; I doubt his being able.

Things are now carried on with great warmth indeed; there was a very considerable number of people all round the House yesterday; I saw no signs of hostility, nor heard a word from any one, except one man, who said, in a very low tone, "No Union!" I passed on, of course, and took no notice of him, further than looking at him. Others either did, or believe, or pretend that they saw a great deal more, and many are alarmed lest there should be a riot; had there been one, there was no preparation for resistance nearer than the Barracks. I hear this day that it will not be so again.

I send you one of our new pamphlets, and refer you to the newspapers for the several Resolutions of the different Corporations, in which you will find very curious matter indeed; see the Corporations of Carpenters and Shoemakers.

Yours ever,

J. B.

MR. ROBINSON TO MR. BERESFORD.

Wyche House, 6th Feb., 1800.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Accept my many and best thanks to you for your care and attention in delivering the letter I troubled you with to the Marquis of Cornwallis; I have received a very kind letter from him in answer, though I have not succeeded at present in my application, which I send you to peruse; and I have thanked him for it, which I also send you, desiring you will put it into his hands at a moment of the most leisure, when it will not trouble him.

We are all in a state of anxiety here about your Union; reports are so strong on the opposition, and tumults expected, which are talked of with so much confidence. You have my most fervent wishes for success. Then we shall see more of you, and shall have a chance to have you for a neighbour, I take it, as you must reside a considerable part of your time in Britain.

It is great grief to me to say that your friend, my dear granddaughter Mary, we fear, is dying of a consumption, within a few weeks of seventeen. But God's will must be submitted to.

Accept best and sincerest wishes to you and to all yours, and believe me, my dear Beresford, your most faithful and affectionate, humble servant,

JOHN ROBINSON.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Friday, Feb. 7th, 1800.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Yours of the 3rd, which I have just received, does not diminish my anxiety respecting the progress and result of your operations. I take for granted that the great push will have been made on the 5th, if Lord Castlereagh's opening should then have taken place; and if your supporters have been staunch and steady, so as to give a majority of not fewer than 60 upon the general question, all will go well. You will drive forwards with unremitted energy, and the minority will be *minor de die in diem*. Still, however, intimidation may do much, and I wish with impatience for the next letters.

All goes well here; and the prospects of a good termination of the war are brightened by the ascertained readiness of the Continental Powers.

We go to town on Monday to stay; and I shall then be a better correspondent. I thought I had remarked to you that there was nothing material in Mr. Pitt's indisposition.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, Feb. 15th, 1800.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Your letter on the result of your twenty-hour debate did not, by some accident, reach

me till yesterday. I found it highly interesting, and am willing to collect from it that, making due allowance for a little more rattism, you will have voted before this time the expediency of the Union by a majority not less than 40. That same rattism, so far as I have had any parliamentary experience in the management of parties, has had its counteraction, and has generally operated more in favour of Government, after the first fermentation, than against Government, and I shall accuse you all of bad management if this should not be the case at present. In truth it is necessary, for though 158 votes are no bad support in a Parliament of 300, the attack of which 120 votes are capable of in all the complicated circumstances now before your House will be so warm, so persecuting, and so able, that in my private speculation, which I express however only to you, I do not believe you will make any considerable progress in the course of this session, unless you can create some schism among your adversaries.

I send you the enclosed, which you will be glad to communicate to Lord Cornwallis, as it cannot but be acceptable to him; will you be so good as to say that I desired you with many kind compliments to show it to him, and also request him to return a packet of papers, which I sent to him some time ago before I had found time to read them.

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD CASTLEREAGH TO MR. BERESFORD.

Phoenix Park, 10th April, 1800.

MY DEAR MR. BERESFORD,—My letters from England still assure us of the business being quickly despatched ; the Ministers promise that everything will be concluded and laid before the King by Wednesday the 30th. We have not altogether determined on our day of meeting, but it will be between the 5th and 10th. Pitt will not make any alterations.

When my father sees you, he will communicate with you upon a suggestion of Mr. Conolly's to me : he feels his health unequal to parliamentary attendance, and is desirous, if it meets with the concurrence of the leading families in the county, to resign in favour of my brother Charles.* I believe my father will postpone any application to Lord Waterford on this point till he has had an opportunity of conferring with you upon it ; if we are so fortunate as to obtain the countenance of your family to this arrangement, I should hope it might be carried into effect without opposition. I need not add how much I shall feel indebted for your assistance in placing one of our family in so honourable a situation. In the

* The Hon. Charles Stewart, second son of Robert, first Marquis of Londonderry, and Lady Frances Pratt, daughter of Charles, first Earl Camden ; born 1778 ; M.P. for county of Londonderry 1800, 1802, 1806, 1807, and 1812 ; served in the Peninsula, and with the allied armies in 1813 and 1814 ; created, 1814, Lord Stewart ; appointed Ambassador to Berlin 1813, and to Vienna 1814 ; succeeded his brother as Marquis of Londonderry 1822 ; married, first, 1804, Lady Catherine Bligh ; secondly, 1812, Lady Frances Vane.

event of my brother being so fortunate as to obtain the support which is necessary to his success, Mr. Conolly would vacate on the meeting of Parliament, otherwise not.

I hope your visit to the north will fortify your health for our ensuing campaign, which will prove not less warm than the last. I conclude no hostile movement will be attempted in Derry. Brooke and Montgomery being both absent, will assist us in Donegal; if the Opposition call a meeting there, do you think our friends, by a well-concerted exertion, could turn the tables upon them and vote an address in favour? it would have an excellent effect—as we don't call the meeting, we lose nothing if it fails. If this was thought practicable, perhaps the sheriffs calling it at their instance would be most for our advantage, as it would give us the time, the place of meeting, and the conduct of the business. We mean to act on this principle in Galway and Mayo, and wherever we are strong.

In case of a great run of petitions against, Cooke says Mr. Pitt would rather wish for counter-petitions. Will you have the goodness to communicate with my father and our Donegal friends on the policy of this suggestion?

Believe me, dear Sir, ever most sincerely yours,

CASTLEREAGH.

What do you conceive would be the effect of taking off all duties on woollens between the two countries?

LORD CASTLEREAGH TO MR. BERESFORD.

Down, 22nd April, 1800.

MY DEAR MR. BERESFORD,—Your letter reached me here; accept my best thanks for the private part of it. I have written a few lines to Lord Waterford.

The observations on Rose's letter have been forwarded. A letter this day from Lord Auckland looks as if they meant to make the specification of duty a part of the Treaty. Pitt's illness is unfortunate, but it is slight, and he will proceed on Monday.

Lord Downshire is here: he has requisitioned the sheriff, which has been refused. The jury is most respectable—no man out of his place; we have fifteen to eight, and shall thank the sheriff for his conduct.

Believe me, my dear Mr. Beresford, most sincerely and faithfully yours,

CASTLEREAGH.

LORD CASTLEREAGH TO MR. BERESFORD.

Mount Stewart, Wednesday, 23rd April, 1800.

MY DEAR MR. BERESFORD,—Although from the postscript I am inclined to believe that Rose's communication with Cooke looks to an arrangement of the countervailing duties by commissioners as preferable to a specific statement of the amount in the Treaty, yet I think it best to forward his letter to you for consideration.

The papers alluded to by Rose were copied by Corry,

and are in his possession. He is to meet me at Down on Saturday. Let me know whether you wish for them.

Everything in this part of the world is quiet; the Union does not seem to produce the slightest sensation.

Ever, my dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

CASTLEREAGH.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Aug. 4th, 1800.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I am sorry that the Primacy arrangements should postpone your son's ^a elevation to the Bench, though the postponement will be short. If a Primate had been taken from the Irish Bench, Lord Cornwallis decidedly gave the preference to the Archbishop of Cashel. On this side of the water other interests were started: Cleaver's ^b by the Grenvilles; Porter's ^c by Lord Camden and the Duke of Portland. It was not offered here so generally as you seem to have heard. Some mention was made of it to the Dean of Christ Church, ^d who however previously had solemnly

^a The Rev. George Beresford, the second son of Mr. Beresford; born 1765; consecrated Bishop of Clonfert 1801; translated to Kilmore 1802; married Frances, daughter of Geronise Bushe, M.P.; died 1841.

^b Dr. Euseby Cleaver, Bishop of Ferns; consecrated, 1789, Bishop of Cork; died 1809.

^c Dr. John Porter, Bishop of Clogher; consecrated Bishop of Killaloe 1795; translated to Clogher 1798; died 1819.

^d Dr. Cyril Jackson, who presided over Christ Church College, Oxford, from 1782 till his death, 1809.

declared that he never would accept promotion. Lord Grenville, I believe, offered it to the Bishop of Oxford,^a a friend of his and of the Dean of Christ Church. I do not believe it was offered to any others; I happen to know two of our bishops who wished to have it, and one of them intimated as much. The Bishop of Norwich^b might have had it, but he had before refused it, and therefore the offer was not made.

To Bishop Stuart^c the offer was made, I believe, through Lady Charlotte Finch. There are many good points in his character, but he is shy and inaccessible. I know nothing at present of the great political interests. Mr. Pitt was here for a day three weeks ago; but I have not since seen Ministers, or sub-ministers, and am passing my time among my private friends and relatives.

Our preparatory work for the Union, which you so essentially contributed to, was so well done, and was so successful in its result, that some of our coadjutors are not unreasonably displeased that we have not brought our merits more forward, to have them noticed, at least, if not rewarded. But I do not know how that can be done if not voluntarily done from a sense of justice in the minds of the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt.

^a Dr. John Randolph, Regius Professor of Divinity, promoted to the See of London 1809.

^b Dr. Charles Manners Sutton; consecrated 1792; promoted to be Archbishop of Canterbury 1805; died 1828.

^c The Hon. William Stuart, fifth son of John, third Earl of Bute, and Mary Wortley Montagu; born 1755; consecrated Bishop of St. David's 1793; translated to the Primacy of Ireland 1800; married, 1796, Sophia Penn; died 1822.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, sincerely and affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Aug. 27th, 1800.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have not yet seen Lord Castlereagh. He was so good as to write a note to me from Bulstrode, where he was staying a couple of days. He said that his stay in England would be but short, but that he proposed to pass a day here. I now expect to see Mr. Pitt a little. He has not yet passed any part of his summer at Holwood, but I understand from him that he is coming.

I drive the great politics of the Continent as much as possible from my recollection; they are most unpleasant and most unpromising, but it will become necessary for Mr. Pitt to look forward to further supplies. We still have great resources. It is, however, a truth that the Income Tax must prevail till 1808 inclusive, in order to liberate the charges already fixed upon it; and those income payments at the end of every two months fall very heavily, in addition to the other taxes, and the increasing price of living and of labour. Our harvest is good, indeed the grain is excellent in quality so far as it has been secured. This bad weather, if it should continue, may make a difference as to what is on the ground. As to the quantity, I am not of the opinion of

many, who talk of a superabundance. Our granaries in general were empty, and the consumption begins a month earlier than usual. However, it is the popular cry, and among those who ought to have the wisdom to discourage such cries, that the quartern loaf will soon be at 7d. I heartily wish it may.

What shall we do next session with you and your 131 fellow travellers? Will you be manageable? Will you be noisy? Will there be many orators among you?

I am, my dear Beresford, yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD CASTLEREAGH TO MR. BERESFORD.

Phoenix Park, 17th Oct., 1800.

MY DEAR MR. BERESFORD,—I landed yesterday, after passing eight days at Holyhead—no small penance. As the 1st January is approaching, when things are to flow in somewhat a new channel, it will be necessary for us to consider what previous arrangements must be made. I should be thankful to you to turn the subject a little in your mind, and send me your ideas upon the steps that should be previously taken with a view to the new duties and the Revenue Bills, which Mr. Pitt is of opinion must be prepared on this side. When do you think of moving?

I hope your quiet summer has repaired the severities of the two last campaigns. It gave Mr. Pitt and your friends in England the truest satisfaction to understand that you had borne the fatigue so well; and they all feel that your important services on this most important of

all measures has done justice to the whole series of your political acts. They desire earnestly to express to you the sense they entertain of your unvarying attachment to the British Government, and hope that you will attend the inauguration of the United Parliament.

I trouble you with a letter from a lady who claims kindred with me; if you will enable me, if her request cannot be complied with, to give her a cousin-like answer, I shall be thankful.

Believe me very sincerely yours,

CASTLEREAGH.

LORD CASTLEREAGH TO MR. BERESFORD.

Phoenix Park, Friday night, 7th Nov., 1800.

MY DEAR MR. BERESFORD,—I directed the Union Act to be sent by last night's post from the office; it contains every legislative provision on the question—as the Election Act, countervailing duties, &c., were all incorporated. The British Act is the same precisely, merely varying the recital; it therefore cannot be of any use to you. I showed your query, relative to duties, regulations, and bounties, to Cooke; he seems unable to furnish you with any hints: they relate to what existed in either country previous to the measure, of which you are better informed than he is. Rose has written for some Irish accounts, principally those where the Irish duties are made the standard, as in calicoes and woollens.

We have received various applications from the maltsters, stating that a considerable proportion of the old

malt now on hand is unfit for brewing, and that it will be entirely lost unless permission is given to distil what is damaged. Do you think that by confining the permission to Dublin and perhaps Cork, and limiting the licence in point of time, proportioned to the quantity in the hands of the distiller certified upon inspection to be unfit for brewing, that this indulgence could be granted? Their memorial has been referred to the Board. I am myself afraid of fraud; the time is the only security possible.

I am very happy to hear that you are so well. I hope to go to the north in the course of a week. I shall return to Dublin, and can then arrange with you whatever we may feel necessary for the ensuing session.

The King's Proclamation relative to the United Parliament will appear in the next Gazette. Donegal is settled, and Maxwell has withdrawn from Cavan.

Yours, my dear Mr. Beresford, ever faithfully and sincerely,

CASTLEREAGH.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Nov. 18th, 1800.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—This is merely a note of inquiry after your health; for I can tell you nothing that you will not equally well collect from newspapers, and better from other correspondents. I went to the House of Lords on the first day of meeting, but I have avoided taking any part in what is going forward, as I do not see

that I can do anything, and as it is extremely desirable to me to remain here till Christmas. Lady Auckland's health has not been so good as usual, and so in short I am quiet at this place, occupied by my lawn and library, and with the daily details of the Post Office, which occupy a good deal of time. The gross income this year will be 1,050,000*l.*; the net, about 730,000*l.* When I took it, three years ago, the net income was about 560,000*l.*, and no new duties have been laid on.

We had a gloomy meeting. In plain truth, though it would be dangerous to say so publicly, as it would give a further pretext for enhancing prices, the deficiency of bread corn is undoubted and great. The price has been a great reduction in the consumption, and is introducing the use of rice, &c. I trust that in the course of this week the two Houses will unite in forming a general rule of reduction, by which private families may be guided. We are also gloomy as to our great politics. I told you, immediately after the battle of Marengo, that we were placed in the alternative between peaceful war and warlike peace; and we shall gradually tend to the latter, though perhaps it is the worst choice.

Is your patriarchal party over? Are you settled in Dublin? And are you all in good health?

Believe me, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

MR. WALTER BORROWES TO MR. BERESFORD.

Austin Friars, 10th July, 1801.

DEAR SIR,—We had our meeting this day with Mr. Addington. We stated merely that the difficulties which the high exchange put in the way of the intercourse between England and Ireland were very great, and that we hoped he would bring forward some measure to remove them.

Mr. Addington said that the subject was of great difficulty and delicacy, but that the importance of it put it in the first place in his mind, and made him desirous to have it settled upon a right ground.

He conceived Ireland was over-supplied by the enterprise of English manufacturers, and hence her difficulty to pay her debts, and also the high exchange. We stated that the high exchange was no proof of the balance of trade, as all the goods sent to Ireland reckoned as merchandise imported there, and brought her in debt to England; and if these goods were got back again, exchange would be in favour of Ireland; but they were locked up in Bank of Ireland, or hid, and therefore, excepting a few purchased at a high premium, were of no avail towards enabling her to pay her Debt; and what we wanted was, a common medium of paper to be substituted in room of the specie locked up by order of Government. Mr. Addington admitted that if Ireland had the means of paying her Debt to England, and getting rid of high exchange, she ought to do it; and he thought the consolidation of the Bank the most likely to answer this purpose. He has therefore taken upon

himself to inquire whether it be the poverty of Ireland or the regulations respecting her specie which prevent her paying her debts and expose her to high exchange ; and if the latter (as is undoubtedly the case), that he will see how far the consolidation is practicable. In the meantime, he enjoined us to be secret as to his declarations, excepting generally that he sets his face against an exchange of Bank of Ireland notes, and will examine if any measure for doing away of exchange and making the currency equal can with advantage to both countries be brought forward.

I am, dear Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

WALTER BORROWES.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Aug. 1st, 1801.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—We wish to know how you all are after your journey. Political circumstances have not materially varied since you went away. The terms of peace demanded by Bonaparte would only disgrace and endanger us, and would afford no security. He therefore now tries to bully us. I am in no fear of his invasion, if he would be so good as to make the attempt on this country. I should be more afraid if he were to carry a little fire and faggot into your inflammable regions. The arrangements with the Baltic Powers give us such means of naval defence, that I do not believe the attempt will be made. We have reason to believe that he has totally failed in the endeavour to

send reinforcements to Alexandria, which must consequently fall.

I know nothing of individual politics. Every day affords new and vexatious proofs of the extreme folly of the February explosion; but I keep aloof from the subject, and only lament it in painful silence.

We continue to have great prospects of plentiful produce, especially in barley, oats, peas, beans, and potatoes. In the meantime, the price of bread is very high, in despite of those who, contrary to the evidence of their senses, so perversely maintained that the scarcity was artificial.

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Sept. 13th, 1801.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Your long letter and its enclosure have furnished much amusement to me, and some information, though I was already aware of many of the ridiculous incidents to which you allude. I had happened to see copies of a most curious correspondence with Mr. Burroughs. I agree with you that the long string of interrogatories is ill-timed, ill-judged, and vexatious, but I am not prepared to think it will be ineffectual. My belief is, that many pretended abolitions and retrenchments will be proposed, and apparently executed, to the annoyance of those concerned, but with little benefit to the public.

The same game was played here, and many offices were put down, and pretended jobs were set aside, with much noise and ostentation—at the same time that new offices were created, and real jobs multiplied with great snugness and privacy.

The little man who is the great spring in these undertakings will be reasonably detested among you, but he will enjoy the clamour which he will raise. It will give an importance and solidity to his position, which might otherwise be shaken into dust by the clashing of jurisdictions, for it has ever appeared to me nearly impossible that his power and Lord Pelham's responsibility can exist together. I see this point so clearly, that if I were in Lord Pelham's place, I would have no managements respecting it. I have reason to believe that he sees it in the same light, but either from temper, or from personal policy, he has more forbearance than I should have. The explosion, however, will come, and will at last be complete. It nearly happened in Cooke's business. Again, it nearly happened in Lord Cornwallis's, and was only prevented by the King taking on himself to satisfy Lord Inchiquin^a at the expense of the imperial peerage.

I have not heard, nor do I believe, that any promise had been made to Lord Sheffield.^b But one more word

^a Murrough O'Bryen, fifth Earl of Inchiquin, son of the Hon. James O'Bryen and Mary Jephson; succeeded his uncle 1777; created, 1800, Marquis of Thomond; and 1801 Baron Taplow in the Peerage of England; married, first, 1753, Mary, Countess of Orkney; secondly, Mary Palmer; died 1808.

^b John Baker Holroyd, Lord Sheffield, son of Isaac Holroyd and Penelope Baker; born 1735; M.P. for Bristol 1790 and

as to such reforms. Undoubtedly they might have been accomplished to every practicable extent without offence, and without noise or display. Real reforms are best made by establishing principles and outlines prospectively, and by a steady adherence to them; the attempts to reform by personal interrogatories and official returns are mere vanity and vexation of spirit, and such they will prove.

Lord Pelham has been here, and Lord Hobart^a is often here; but I have many reasons for not wishing to know the state of the negotiation. It is in truth guided by others, with whom I have no communication, and therefore I should be sorry to show either an implied approbation or a seeming and fruitless criticism. My conjecture and belief are, that the First Consul exacts larger sacrifices than the King's Government can venture to make, either with the approbation of the King or with the probable contentment of Parliament. Yet I am disposed to believe that they are inclined to make considerable sacrifices, and perhaps they are not

1796; M.P. for Coventry 1780; created, 1781, Irish Baron; Earl 1816; English Baron 1802; married, first, Abigail Way, 1767; secondly, 1794, the Hon. Lucy Pelham; thirdly, 1798, Lady Anne North; died 1821.

^a The Right Hon. Robert Hobart, son of the Hon. George Hobart (afterwards third Earl of Buckinghamshire) and Albinia Bertie; born 1760; M.P. for Bramber 1789; for Lincoln 1790; appointed Chief Secretary of Ireland 1789; Governor of Bombay 1793 to 1797; Colonial Secretary 1801; Postmaster-General 1806; President of Board of Control 1812; summoned to House of Lords as Baron Hobart 1798; succeeded as Earl of Buckinghamshire 1804; married, first, 1792, Margaretta, widow of T. Adderley; secondly, 1799, Eleanor Eden, daughter of William, Lord Auckland; died 1816.

wrong, for certainly it will be very difficult to find the means of continuing the war. Our expense is boundless, and the public credit is at least very severely on the stretch.

Mr. Pitt is in all their counsels, often in person, and always in private. He is much with Mr. Addington,* and very little with any other of his old friends and associates.

The accounts of the King's health are unequivocally good. He is graver than heretofore, and talks less, and laughs less. He also sleeps occasionally in the day.

Believe me, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Jan. 17th, 1802.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Many thanks for your bulletins respecting our poor friend Lord Clare; I feel most seriously alarmed for him, though I received a letter yesterday from Lees which gave an account somewhat less serious than yours. My principal hope is, that as our accounts are chiefly grounded on Mr. Stewart's opinion, which is formed in Dublin, upon the statements received from Mount Shannon, it is highly possible that the Mount Shannon people may exaggerate the

* The Right Hon. Henry Addington, son of Dr. A. Addington and Mary Hiley; born 1757; M.P. for Devizes 1784 till 1805; elected Speaker 1789 till 1801; appointed First Lord of Treasury 1801 till 1804; Lord President 1805; Lord Privy Seal 1806; Secretary of State 1812 till 1822; created, 1805, Viscount Sidmouth; married, first, Ursula Hammond; secondly, the Hon. Margaret Scott, daughter of Lord Stowell; died 1842.

danger, both to lessen their own responsibility, and to increase their eventual credit. Such motives frequently operate. I wish, at any rate, that Lord Clare could move to London, where the medical advice (particularly if there be water on the chest) is, I believe, far superior to what can be obtained in any other place.

We are now beginning to prepare for the town campaign, and shall settle in Palace Yard at the latest on the 8th February.

Frederick North's house being small, and not amply furnished, I infer that your daughters are not coming to you.

I never saw a milder or more beneficent thaw.

I am, my dear Beresford, most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

I have kept your paper on the subject of the Dublin mail that I may show it to Mr. Freeling. I believe that we have no concern with the mail from the moment that our commanders have delivered it to any person deputed by the Irish office; but the statement seems to be well founded.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Roehampton, Aug. 5th, 1802.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I write this from Roehampton (Lord Hobart's) merely to ask, "How you all do, and what you are doing?" I see that your elections are going on as well as you can wish, except that I suppose your son John's triumph will not be without expense. Many of the elections in this country have been bung-

lingly conducted: the Jacobins have shown their heads in some places, and in several others people have got into Parliament who will be troublesome.

Mr. Legge and Mr. Watson happened to dine at Eden Farm on Sunday last, when I learnt from them that their offices are to be forthwith abolished. Mr. Wickham,* just before he set off for Ireland, desired to see them, and informed them coolly that such were the intentions of Government; and he said nothing as to compensation, &c. Mr. Addington has since given some general and friendly assurances to Mr. Legge; and Lord Castle-reagh has taken Mr. Watson to his India office as private secretary. They seem to suppose that the arrangements of the Irish office will be such as to bring forward Mr. Flint^b under Mr. Wickham.

Our elections being finished, this country is in a profound calm; we have neither foreign nor domestic agitations. I do not see any early probability of troubles; but our funds droop, and it is difficult to say why, except, perhaps, that the quantity of stock in the hands of the subscribers to the loan is such as to bring more of the commodity into the market than is wanted there.

Let us hear fully as to you and yours; Lady Auckland desires to be most kindly remembered.

I am, my dear Beresford, sincerely and affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

* The Right Hon. William Wickham; M.P. for Cashel 1802; for Callington 1806; appointed Minister to Switzerland 1795; Under-Secretary of the Home Department 1798 to 1800; Board of Trade 1802; Chief Secretary of Ireland 1802 to 1804; Lord of Treasury 1806.

^b Afterwards Sir C. Flint.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Walworth, 2nd Nov., 1802.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I received yours of the 4th October several days after its due time, owing to my having gone from home on a visit to Lady Mountjoy and Mr. Fowler. The day I came home I received the melancholy account of the death of poor Uniacke, which disconcerted me a good deal, though long expected.

I have also had a long job of Revenue business on hand, as Wickham begged me to consider some late instructions given by the Revenue Board, which are gross nonsense; to show that I was obliged to write a long comment. These matters have prevented me from writing to you. I have great pleasure to tell you that my little ones are all well; we live here pleasantly and cheap; I do not think I shall stir as long as I can help it. If I am wanted, I shall be asked to go. I shall, therefore, stay till Irish business begins, and that will not be till the end of January.

The state of your revenue is very flourishing: ours is, I hear, increasing, and much boasting is the consequence. Surely everyone must have foreseen that it could not be otherwise. Peace must have an effect on any country, but in this it must be so still more. Where every man was afraid to import lest his neighbour might enjoy the fruits of his industry; in short, where internal rebellion and external invasion was hanging over the head of the nation, how could trade have its free course?

Add to this famine, and you will see cause enough

for improvement this year in revenue. The distilling and malt alone, which were before prohibited, would make a difference of near a million. There were several improvements in the distilling laws made in 1799, which never operated until now; these laws will now tell. These circumstances will make an increased revenue, and when you compare that increased revenue with the lowest and worst year that has been for a long time, the increase will appear the greater. The business of the revenue is at present ignorantly conducted. The merchants are oppressed, orders upon orders issue every day, contradicting each other: what is ordered to-day is countermanded to-morrow.

I understand that your Treasury are determined to take the management on themselves, and have already made certain regulations. Surely it would be prudent first to understand the nature of our revenue, and the difference that exists between it and that of England. If they proceed solely on English ideas, they will overturn everything.

All this I mean for yourself; for I am determined never to interfere, unless when applied to particularly.

Ever yours,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Aug. 11th, 1803.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I would wish you not to mention that you receive the enclosed pamphlet from

me, because it bears with much severity on some old friends and connections of ours, and therefore I would not forward it to anybody but to you. In other respects, it is impossible not to smile at many parts of it, which are expressed with acuteness and wit. I cannot guess at the author, but I conceive it to be somebody who is known to me, from various allusions and expressions, and especially from the manner in which (p. 19) he refers to the motto on my family seal ("*Si sit prudentia.*")

Many thanks for your two letters from Dublin! The impression of what has recently happened there would tend to strengthen Government if we were at peace with other nations; and certainly it has awakened both your civil and military powers, and also your yeomanry and gentlemen, who seem to be showing loyalty, sense, and spirit: but it is likely at the same time to give encouragement to the French to pay a visit to you; and I think that such a visit is infinitely more probable than any attempt on this country. Here, however, we are as alert and as alarmed as we could be if the French had a superior naval force, and were actually embarking under its protection. In our energies there would be no harm, on the contrary, there would be great good, if they were not accompanied by such a boundless expense. In private, I look to our pecuniary embarrassment with far more uneasiness than I can bring myself to feel under all the extravagant menaces of Bonaparte! And I am very sure that Mr. Addington and Mr. Corry will be obliged, before Christmas, to state the necessity of further and great supplies. In the mean-

time, many great branches of revenue remain suspended in their receipt; and the monied and trading interests are in many respects embarrassed, depressed, and dispirited. God send us all a good deliverance! but the prospect is gloomy; and I see no hope of any settled sunshine so long as the French power remains unbroken.

All well under this roof. Lady Auckland and my daughters desire to be affectionately remembered to you and to yours.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever most sincerely,
&c.

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Sept. 14th, 1808.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Your account of poor Hibernia is deplorable enough, more especially as I see no remedy, except by a long course of time operating, through the medium of good laws and “steady and wise Government,” a gradual and radical change in the manners and morals of your lower people. The late insurrection seems to have been clearly of the Papist leaven, and yet it does not appear to have extended to the higher classes; I even doubt whether it was known to the bishops, or instigated by the priests. Perhaps it may be inferred that general disaffection, Jacobinism, ferocity, and the passion for murder, were the mainsprings. Those same materials will operate with great energy if the French should effectuate a landing anywhere in

Ireland except in the north. And there is certain intelligence from several French ports that boats are prepared, and that troops and light artillery are ready in the neighbourhood of those ports. It is but too probable that landings may be attempted on your southern or western coasts, at the same time, perhaps, that Guernsey and Jersey may be attacked, in order to distract our attention. I cannot persuade myself to feel any fears respecting Great Britain ; but it is quite offensive to say so, and preparations of the defensive kind are making with an extent and expenditure far beyond my notions of necessary and wise precaution. One good will result from what we are doing here ; we shall be able to make large detachments of regulars and militia to your assistance, if unhappily they should become necessary.

I do not know who is the author of the enclosed anti-Consular ballad, but I have just received it under a blank cover, and it seems to be better than many of the placards with which the town walls and village trees are decorated.

Lord Pelham is to have his audience to-day : I suppose that he will be treated with great kindness by the King, and that he will accept the Duchy of Lancaster. By what consideration our old friend at Addiscombe* has been induced to give up so good an office I have not yet heard. Lord Pelham seems to have lost the Seals chiefly in consequence of disagreements with the Irish Government.

The produce of our old taxes continues to be higher than ever, and to gain ground in despite of the war. I

* Lord Liverpool.

suppose, however, that Parliament must be summoned for the first week in November.

That pamphlet entitled "Cursory Remarks" has given extreme displeasure to some of our old friends, and will influence the temper and turn of debates in the next session.

Let us hear from you. No more at present. All well here.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

MR. COOKE TO MR. BERESFORD.

London, 30th Sept., 1803.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I was happy to find from you that you felt so strong in the north, though I fear the religious feeling which makes you so strong there makes you proportionally weak in the south. There seems no confidence between the sects in each other; and until that can be produced, Ireland must be in a deplorable state of weakness and insecurity. They are here preparing to send you 10,000 additional infantry, according as the army of reserve becomes drilled; and if the French will wait till that time, we may do well enough. But they are really expected very soon; and if our fleet shall be forced from Brest for the protection of England, you will have a visit.

I cannot find from any of my friends in the Ministry that there is any good news as to Russia, Prussia, &c.

Parliament will meet before Christmas. I believe there are difficulties as to the Income Tax; two gales are due, and hitherto not a paper has been sent round to any householders.

All the changes in the volunteer system, orders, counter-orders, &c., have occasioned much disgust; but there is a firm spirit which is very general.

They have raised above 30,000 of the army of reserve; about 22,000 very fine men.

We have about 18,000 yeomanry within the Bills of Mortality, and most of them very forward in discipline.

Lord Pelham has not yet arranged anything with regard to himself; he is quite well again. Shee gets 1000*l.* a-year; 500*l.* to cease when he gets office of 1200*l.* a-year.

Old Corney was sent for; but I hear His Majesty was indignant at the idea.

Lord Cathcart is a very zealous officer, and can be as warm as anyone; but he has the prudence of a Scot to regulate his temper.

They now attribute "Cursory Remarks" to Hobhouse; I know not on what authority. Mr. Addington swears he knows not the author, though Hatchard, his bookseller, does.

I hear your revenue is falling. What is all this of the Bank refusing, and White^a advancing?

The trials seem to have been most fortunate, and must

* Luke White, a bookseller in Dublin, who, beginning life with a very small business and scanty means, died one of the largest proprietors in Ireland, having amassed great wealth by contracting for Government loans. M.P. for county of Leitrim 1818; for ditto 1820; died 1824.

do good. I trust they are equally sure of their ground in the Northern Special Commission.

Is it true that Plunket is to be Solicitor-General, and Mc Clelland Judge? What becomes of Johnson, and the Unionists?

Why is Russel tried for new treasons, and not identified under the Banishment Bill?

I hope you have had a good harvest, and that potatoes are not likely to run short; they are a bad crop here.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

E. COOKE.

MR. WICKHAM TO MR. BERESFORD.

Phoenix Park, 14th Jan., 1804.

MY DEAR SIR,—I cannot leave Ireland without returning you my very sincere thanks for the very kind and friendly advice and assistance I have so often received from you; nor without assuring you, that if I have not been able at all times to take advantage of your obliging offers of service, it has been owing to circumstances of which I was not master.

My health has been such for some time past as to make it impossible for me to hold my situation with advantage to the public. For my own honour and credit, therefore, it has become necessary for me to resign. My successor, I have every reason to hope, will be personally agreeable to you.

Allow me to request the continuance of your friend-

ship, on which I shall ever set the highest value; and believe me to be ever, with the truest esteem and regard,

My dear Sir,

Most faithfully yours,

WM. WICKHAM.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. WICKHAM.

Walworth, 18th Jan., 1804.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am very sincerely sorry for the event you have announced to me in your letter of the 14th, and the more so for the cause of it. I beg leave to assure you that I consider your departure not only as a great loss to your friends and acquaintance, but a misfortune to this country, with whose interests I have reason to believe you have taken pains to make yourself acquainted, and which I am sure you would have promoted to the utmost of your power. I may now tell you, without suspicion of flattery, that I personally regret your leaving us, and shall be happy on all occasions to show you that I am, with affectionate regard and esteem,

My dear Sir, ever yours,

J. BERESFORD.

MR. COOKE TO MR. BERESFORD.

London, 22nd Feb., 1804.

DEAR BERESFORD,—The King is rather better—it is said this attack is slighter than the last; and Ministers

are sanguine that His Majesty will be able to sign necessary papers before it is indispensable.

They say his general health is not much affected.

I have not heard that the Prince has been busy. Lord Thurlowe has been often with him.

They talk of invasion being at hand, and of course unconnected persons want some executive power ; but I believe Ministers will delay.

There is certainly some kind of coalition or understanding between Fox and the Grenvilles. I know nothing of Pitt. There is much caballing.

I hear, Ministry are fools enough to have consented for Foster to move for a Committee into the state of the Irish Exchange and Paper Currency. He will expose the evil, and leave it at the door of Ministers, if he cannot cure it ; if he can, he will have all the credit ; or he will propose such remedies as Ministers will not approve, and throw on them the odium of refusing them ; and he will attribute everything to the Union. Wise men !

The present discount on Irish bank notes is palpable depreciation, arising, I believe, from the state of the country ; for the balance of trade is in favour of Ireland at present, and also the balance of remittances, so that when the exchange is done and computed in specie, it is now near two per cent. in favour of Ireland ; but when English loans cease, and the drain for interest in England shall be left, what will then be the case of Ireland ? She has received from England in the last six years near 7,000,000*l.* by loans, besides paying the interest due in England by them.

Corry got quizzed for paying his own salary in specie, and is very sore. I think it was fair enough, and he should laugh at the attack.

Ever yours,
E. COOKE.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, Feb. 24th, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Though the bulletin of the day states that “there is no material alteration in His Majesty’s health,” it is understood that he is going on well; and indeed I am privately assured, that if it were essentially material, he is now equal to doing business, or at least very nearly so.

It is supposed that the parliamentary campaign and hostilities will recommence next week; and many cabals are going forwards and are crossing and jostling each other. The new alliance between Mr. Fox and the Grenvilles is not called a coalition, but an approximation. It cannot approximate the views of the high contracting parties; it is more likely to approximate Mr. Pitt towards Government.

Mr. Foster was so good as to call on me upon his arrival; but I have not yet happened to meet him.

Yours ever,
AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, March 8th, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—All things here are pretty much "*in statu quo prius*." The invasion continues to be threatened, and very few now believe that it is probable or practicable, so far as this island is in question. The Dutch fleet, and the troops said to be embarked there, intend to pay a visit to Londonderry; and here is a charming wind for them.

The seizure of Moreau and Pichegru is a very vexatious incident to us, and an event of exultation to Bonaparte; I do not believe, however, that he is on a bed of roses. The state of parliamentary parties is forming itself into the old style; and the various schisms of Opposition are consolidating into one great phalanx. Still, however, with great eloquence, great weight, and powerful numbers, I do not think that they can make any impression, unless some new and unforeseen advantage should present itself. Mr. Pitt's naval motion afforded to him the occasion of making a fine speech; but the general result of the debate on the public opinion seems to be that the Admiralty have done well, and that our defensive exertions are much more efficient than they were supposed to be. Accordingly, the stocks rise; the Omnium is now at par, and the Consols at 57. Mr. Sheridan spoke, and Mr. Erskine voted with Mr. Addington, on Thursday; and I believe some others particularly connected with the Prince. The King is understood to be well, and to require only care to avoid new hurries and a relapse. He saw the

Duke of York this morning. I hope that the bulletins may be discontinued after two or three days more.

Yours ever,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, March 9th, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—It will be a great satisfaction to you to learn that His Majesty was well enough to-day to sign the Commission for passing the Mutiny and other bills. Just as we were sending to desire the attendance of the Commons, Lord Fitzwilliam rose and objected, on the ground that the recovery is not understood to be complete. The Chancellor* answered that in his presence, and alone with the King, he had received His Majesty's signature on a full explanation of the several bills mentioned in the Commission. We then proceeded without further remark.

I do not know any other news to-day.

Lord Camelford^b is not yet dead, but is very ill and suffers much. He has exculpated Mr. Best in the presence of witnesses.

Yours ever,

AUCKLAND.

* John Scott, Lord Eldon, third son of William Scott, of Newcastle; born 1751; appointed Solicitor-General 1788; Attorney-General 1793; Chief Justice of Common Pleas 1799; Lord Chancellor 1801 to 1806; again 1807 to 1827; M.P. for Weobly 1780 to 1796; for Borough Bridge 1796; created, 1801, Baron Eldon; 1821, Earl of Eldon; married, 1772, Elizabeth Surtees; died 1838.

^b Thomas Pitt, last Lord Camelford, shot by Mr. Best in a duel 1804.

MR. COOKE TO MR. BERESFORD.

1, North Row, Park Lane, 16th March, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—You must be daily surprised with the accounts you receive from hence ; for I believe you receive no explanation of them, and much is inexplicable to those on the spot. The mainspring of everything, the King, is I believe recovering, but by no means so fast as Ministerialists state. He has just seen the Chancellor and Addington, but has no communication with his family. The state of the King's health, and the prospect of his recovery, gives Addington strength.

You see, in the motion against Lord Hardwicke,* Fox and Grenville polled only 82 ; but scarce an Irish member would second inquiry, which accounts for the division. Pitt and Foster stayed away. By-the-bye, they are reconciled, and Foster acts with him.

Last night you see a minority of 130, though on contradictory grounds. This support of Pitt by Fox was of course to terrify the Addingtons, and to lead, if possible, to union with Pitt. He, however, keeps aloof, and professes merely to do his duty as a Member of Parliament. All his speeches and measures are certainly for the purpose of forcing Ministers to additional energy. His is a new game of playing the Minister in oppo-

* Philip Yorke, third Earl of Hardwicke, son of the Hon. Charles Yorke and Catherine Freeman ; born 1757 ; M.P. for Cambridgeshire 1780 to 1790 ; succeeded his uncle as Earl 1790 ; appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1801 ; married, 1782, Lady Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of James, fifth Earl Balcarres ; died 1834.

sition. You see he is daily bringing forward plans of his own, and throwing upon Ministers the responsibility of rejecting them; and the most singular circumstance is, that Parliament is not employed in discussing the measures of Government, but the measures of Mr. Pitt. I think this a very disgraceful state for any Administration, but it will keep them in power for some time.

Sheridan again came forward last night for Government; this was merely because the attack was made by Pitt. He is, however, very hostile to Fox's coalition with Grenville.

Foster is going on with his Committee, and has sent over for many persons from Ireland. I have suggested that the loans made here for Irish purposes should be transmitted to the Bank of Ireland in Bank of England notes; that the Bank of Ireland should pay their own notes on demand in English notes; but to prevent English notes becoming the currency of Ireland, that no English note should be issued there under 50*l.*, and no English note received by Revenue collectors. This would bring exchange to a par, and the Bank of England would not complain, for it would be funded sufficiently, without expense.

You see poor Corry is forced to postpone perpetuating his tax bills for another session; and Foster quizzed him as to the necessity of obtaining the King's previous consent.

I believe there is again an expectation of invasion. Officers have set off for their posts; yet I am still incredulous. Bonaparte's difficulties must thicken.

Lord Grenville got the Camelford fortune. The state

of Ceylon is bad. They expect the Mahratta War will end favourably, and soon. The Paris account of Wellesley being defeated is known to be false, from the dates.

Ever most truly yours,

E. COOKE.

MR. COOKE TO MR. BERESFORD.

North Row, Park Lane, 27th March, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Affairs begin to thicken. I understand Mr. Pitt is going to hoist his standard, thinking it absolutely necessary that Addington should be removed, and a more efficient Ministry appointed. He is disposed and determined to effect that point if possible, though he is not ready for joining in a party for the purpose of forcing any particular set of men into power against the will of the Crown. I understand that this principle of destroying Addington's Administration will be co-operated with by the other parties of Opposition. I hear, also, that the Queen is anxious for Mr. Pitt's return to office, and the Duke of York particularly so.

Under these circumstances, it will be wished that all Mr. Pitt's friends should attend after the holydays; and I conceive you will be applied to from a high quarter. My ideas of your feelings are, that you will never take a part against Mr. Pitt, but that you do not like to take a part against Mr. Addington. Whatever you may do, I am sure Mr. Pitt would be very sensible of your attentions to him, in whatever way you could show them.

I understand the Opposition, if united, would consist of about 230, and above 200 could be brought into the field. Government allows them 183 decided. They have about 90 in the Lords.

The King is recovering; I hear he has seen the Queen, but not the rest of the Royal Family, yet Ministry say he is quite well, and quite fit for business; but I hear he is weak and requires rest greatly. Lord Euston,* who voted with Mr. Pitt on the Admiralty question, resigned the Parks on Saturday last.

Immense patronage vacant, but I know not the distribution.

I suppose Lindsay^b goes to Kildare, and is succeeded by Butson.^c

They say Lord Winchelsea^d gets the place of Groom of the Stole; but who succeeds to the Bedchamber I know not.

The Duke of Norfolk^e wants the blue ribbon, but I

* George Henry Fitzroy, Earl of Euston, son of the Duke of Grafton and the Hon. Anne Liddell; born 1760; M.P. for University of Cambridge 1784 to 1811; succeeded his father 1811; Ranger of St. James's Park and Hyde Park; married, 1784, Lady Charlotte Waldegrave; died 1844.

^b The Hon. Charles Lindsay, sixth son of James, the fifth Earl of Balcarres, and Ann Dalrymple; born 1760; consecrated Bishop of Killaloe 1803; translated to Kildare 1804; married, first, 1790, Miss Fydell; secondly, 1798, Catherine Cousmaker; died 1846.

^c The Rev. Dr. Christopher Butson, Dean of Waterford; consecrated Bishop of Clonfert 1804; died 1826.

^d George Finch, eighth Earl of Winchelsea, son of the Hon. William Finch and Charlotte Fermor; born 1747; succeeded his uncle 1769; died 1826.

^e Charles Howard, eleventh Duke of Norfolk, son of Charles,

believe the King promised it to Lord Chesterfield. The red ribbon goes to Paget,* at Vienna. The green ribbon I have not heard about; nor whether Dalrymple succeeds Fawcett, and General Fox, Dalrymple; or whether Trigge succeeds Fawcett, and Fox goes to Gibraltar.

The decision which I have mentioned of Mr. Pitt is at present fresh, nor is it publicly known, and I write quite confidentially.

Could you say what Sir George Hill would do, or what part Lord Waterford would be likely to take? There will not be much time for explanation. You remember how you always said things must take this turn; it would have been better had they taken it earlier.

There is a second pamphlet by Bentley in reply to Long. I have not read it yet, but I hear it is very severe on Pitt. Foster takes a part with Pitt, and a hearty one!!

Ever most truly and sincerely yours,

E. COOKE.

MR. ROSE TO MR. BERESFORD.

Croffnells, 27th March, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—Public matters of all sects and parties are in so odd a state at present that I

tenth Duke, and Catherine Brockholes; born 1746; succeeded 1786; died 1815.

* The Hon. Arthur Paget, third son of Henry, first Earl of Uxbridge, and Ann Champagne; born 1770; appointed Envoy to Diet of Ratisbon 1798; to the Court of the Two Sicilies 1800; to Court of Vienna 1804; Ambassador to the Porte 1807; married, 1809, Lady Augusta Fane; died 1840.

hardly know whether to wish you in this country or not. If it would disarrange any of your domestic plans, or distress you between friends who may be drawing different ways, I am sure you had better not come among us. Mr. Fox is acting with Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, Lord Spencer, &c., &c. Mr. Sheridan is aloof from them, and endeavouring all he can to support the Government, liking anything better than Mr. Pitt's return to power. Mr. Fox puts that consideration from him, having said in answer to Mr. Sheridan lately at a meeting of his friends, that if he could effect that only, he thought he should do a great deal for the country. The Duke of Norfolk is also with Government; so, with Mr. Tierney, they have a good selection.

Mr. Pitt will not join in any system of opposition, nor disturb Government beyond proposing measures which he thinks, or may from time to time think, necessary for the preservation of the country, utterly unconnected with all parties and descriptions of men, but with many most respectable men adhering to him, and determined to pursue the same line. The strengthening that number is of course important. Now you really know all that I do. How the gentlemen from your side of the water will act when they come over, I believe no one can guess. I can assure you that I cannot form anything like an accurate judgment what a very large proportion of the English members will do. If you can give me any clue to the connections, habits, and opinions of any of your friends, you will oblige me. I mean such as are likely to be in the House this session. Some may possibly be induced to attend by the state of things.

The newspapers tell me that Mr. Grattan is to succeed your son in Dublin city; if so, I imagine he will range himself with Lord Fitzwilliam, who, I conjecture, is with Mr. Fox or Windham. I send this under cover to our friend Mr. Theophilus Jones, lest the curiosity of any other friend should induce its being opened, if known to be written by me; and yet if all the world read it I am not sure of much inconvenience arising from it, because there is not a word in it which is not strictly true, and as far as information goes, known to everybody as well as to me—I mean on this side of the water. It is a melancholy consideration that a great and high-spirited country should be rolled in the dirt in the way we are by a Government, more remarkable, I think, for weakness and incapacity than any one that ever existed in any period of our history; but so it is. How long we must suffer under it remains to be seen. I am here for a fortnight, and then return to London. All here join in affectionate compliments to you.

My dear Beresford, most truly and sincerely yours,

GEORGE ROSE.

MR. JONES TO MR. BERESFORD.

London, 20th March, 1804. :

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—As it is probable that the letter which Mr. Rose has commissioned me to forward to you may have originated from conversations we have had on your subject, in which we both agreed your retiring at this crisis from public business was highly

imprudent, I can only defend the opinion I hold on that subject by communicating to you what appears to me the present state of politics on this stage, and giving a sketch of the actors. It appears from general conversation that Mr. Pitt's coming into power must take place. He acts unconnected with the Grenvilles and Fox, and though his conduct (apparently on the most laudable and disinterested principles) exposes the insufficiency of our present Ministers, it evidently originated from the necessity of patching their measures to preserve the country from destruction, and not from motives of ambition or self-interest.

Mr. Foster has been here some time, takes a forward part in business, and is much liked. His leanings are towards Mr. Pitt, and with me he has expressed his anxiety that you was here, and I have no doubt, from what has passed between us, that he wishes to act with you on Irish subjects. Corry has exposed his deficiency on every occasion. Soon after Foster came over, he dined at my house with Lord Spencer, Lord Camden, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Rose. It appeared that he had not before met Mr. Pitt in private company; they sat next each other, and appeared to like their situation. They have since, as Foster told me, met frequently, and I have reason to believe he materially led the *La Touches* to vote in the minority with Mr. Pitt.

You and your friends stand too high in public opinion to be idle spectators of what is going on. Some part ought to be taken to support that opinion. Seeing things in the light I do, and feeling, as I have during

life, anxious for the welfare of your connections, I could not refrain from writing to you on the subject.

I am most affectionately yours,
THEO. JONES.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, April 6th, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I am not pleased with your last account of yourself, and I shall be glad to hear further tidings. I contrived to catch that same cough, and more severely than was agreeable, but far less severe than what you describe; I carried it to Eden Farm two days before Good Friday, and it quitted me within twenty-four hours. We remained there till yesterday, when it was necessary to return to town, to attend the debates on the Volunteer Bill. They are uninteresting, but seem likely to occupy us for four or five days.

The King certainly continues to gain ground, and strength both of mind and body, but more slowly than had been hoped.

The news from the East Indies is solidly important, and very creditable to the character of our countrymen. This little world begins to be too small for Lord Wellesley.

Who were the profligate fellows who robbed the Irish Exchequer in order to pay themselves the unfavourable exchanges?

We shall have numerous and warm debates in both Houses from the middle of April to the end of May.

Yours ever most affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

MR. PITT TO MR. BERESFORD.

Walmer Castle, April 11th, 1804.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had no opportunity lately of knowing what may be your sentiments with respect to public affairs, but seeing that they are likely very soon to lead to an important crisis, I am sure, from our long habits of acting together, and from the many proofs I have received of your friendship and good opinion, you will readily excuse my troubling you with this confidential letter.

You will have seen, from what has passed in Parliament, how much I have been dissatisfied for a considerable time with many parts of the conduct of Government, particularly in the essential article of what relates to the defence of the country. The experience of the last summer, and the discussions of this session, confirm me in the opinion that while the Government remains in its present shape, and under its present leader, nothing efficient can be expected either to originate with them or to be fairly adopted and effectually executed. With this persuasion, and thinking a system of more energy and decision is absolutely necessary, with a view both to the immediate crisis and the many difficulties which we have to encounter in the

course of the present contest, I mean to take an early opportunity of avowing and acting on these sentiments more explicitly and decidedly than I have hitherto done, and I shall endeavour to give effect to my opinion by the support of all my friends whom I can collect. My object will be to press to the utmost those points which I think essential to the public defence, and at the same time in doing so to make it, if I can, impossible for the present Government to maintain itself. In this object I have every reason to believe that I shall have the fullest concurrence of all those with whom I have most differed on former occasions, and with whom possibly I may as little agree in future. With these numbers added to my own more immediate friends, and to the few who have acted with Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, I am persuaded that our division on any favourable question will probably be such as would be sufficient to shake a much stronger Government than the present; and if a considerable strength shows itself in Parliament, I have no reason to suppose any insuperable difficulties will arise in another quarter. Calculations of strength beforehand are necessarily uncertain. I think, at lowest, our numbers cannot be much less than 200, and I should not be surprised if they were considerably more.

I have thus taken the liberty of explaining to you very frankly my views and expectations. I do not feel that I have any claim to ask your concurrence and support, or to do more than lay the subject fairly before you; if your own view of the subject coincides with mine, it will certainly be highly gratifying to myself,

personally, and your weight and influence with your friends will, I have no doubt, in that case secure us a valuable accession of strength.

I am, with great regard, my dear Sir, faithfully and sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, April 20th, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I shall be heartily glad to get an early sight of you here. I have just received yours of the 18th.

You will find our political and parliamentary fermentation at its crisis. There is a complete and avowed coalition of all the *Outs*. I have known much in an indirect and friendly way of what is going on; and I neither feel an unfriendly disposition to our old friends, nor have I reason to imagine that they have any such disposition respecting me. But I have thought it honourable and right, and a sacred duty also to our good old master, to give a fair, decent, and not inefficient support to *his* Government; and at all possible events I shall continue to do so.

The Coalition is very strong in all points of view—possibly about 60 among the Peers, and 180 among the Commons. And, so far as I can at present guess, I think that Government will be supported by about 100

Peers, and by about 260 or 270 Commoners, but such a calculation is liable to hourly variations.

The King is better.

Yours ever most sincerely,

AUCKLAND.

LORD CAMDEN TO MR. BERESFORD.

Arlington Street, April 29th, 1804.

MY DEAR SIR,—I saw Lord Ormonde yesterday, and I fear that there is too much reason to think he will vote with the Government. He asked me, with great anxiety, if I knew the line Lord Waterford would take, which I of course told him, but from his anxiety on this subject I think there is a chance that Lord Waterford might prevail on him at least to stay away. My name must not appear as in any degree connected with an attempt to keep Lord Ormonde from voting.

I beg you to believe me most sincerely yours,

CAMDEN.

MR. BERESFORD TO MR. ROSE.

MS. B. 1. 1

Bruton Street, Monday, —, 1804.

MY DEAR ROSE,—In consequence of what you desired me, I have made inquiries about the La Touches, and I

find that Robert^a and John^b are strong against Mr. Pitt, but Peter^c I believe will be with him.

As it may be necessary for you to make up your lists, I think it right to inform you that we have in town of our own Members, Lord George Beresford,^d Mr. Walter Jones, Mr. Greene,^e and myself; that Mr. Lee^f has assured me that he will go as I go (which declaration I had a right to expect from him); and that I look for Sir George Hill arriving before Wednesday.

Of other Members, as I before informed you, Colonel Odell^g has been with me, and will vote with Mr. Pitt.

He is an honourable, independent country gentleman, who supported Government through the whole Union contest without ever asking anything. Lord Cornwallis, of his own accord, sent for Colonel Odell, and desired to know if he could oblige him in any way. He answered

^a Robert La Touche, eldest son of John La Touche, a banker in Dublin, M.P. for county Kildare.

^b John La Touche, second son of John La Touche, M.P. for city of Dublin.

^c Peter La Touche, fourth son of the Right Hon. David La Touche, a banker in Dublin, M.P. for Leitrim county.

^d Lord George Beresford, third son of George, first Marquis of Waterford, and Elizabeth Monck; born 1781; M.P. for county of Londonderry 1802; again 1806 and 1807; for Coleraine 1812; for county Waterford 1814, 1818, 1820; appointed Comptroller of Household 1812 to 1830; married, 1808, Harriett Schutz; died 1839.

^e William Greene, M.P. for Dungarvan 1802 to 1806.

^f Edward Lee, M.P. for Dungarvan 1798; again 1800; for county of Waterford 1802; married Elizabeth Gardiner, sister of Lord Montjoy.

^g William Odell, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Limerick Militia; M.P. for the county of Limerick from 1797 to 1818; appointed Lord of the Treasury 1810, till 1819.

that he had a son in the army, and that he wished him promoted. Lord Cornwallis promised it, but going away, nothing was done.

Colonel Odell has since purchased him his troop ; but thinks this was not treating him well. He wishes to be introduced to Mr. Pitt.

Since I stated this to you, Mr. Sneyd has also been with me to ask my opinion and advice. He will support Mr. Pitt.

Lord De Blaquièrè has also been with me, and assures me that he and Lord Kirkwall* will do the same, and he will, the first opportunity, declare his intentions, and this without any stipulation.

Thus matters stand at present ; and if I can be of any further use, you know Mr. Pitt may command me.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Palace Yard, May 17th, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I owe it to your affectionate and unshaken friendship for me and for mine to inform you that I am to quit the Post Office, to be succeeded by the Duke of Montrose. This is painful to my mind, as implying a decided separation from one whose intimacy and confidence had long been the pride and plea-

* John Hamilton Fitzmaurice, Lord Kirkwall, son of the Hon. Th. Fitzmaurice and Mary, Countess of Orkney; born 1778; M.P. for Heytesbury 1802; married, 1802, the Hon. Anne M. Blaquièrè; died 1820.

sure of my life. But in other respects it is not injurious to my small private fortunes ; and certainly it will not be injurious to my pretensions, if I have any, in the line of public life and of public opinion. I reserve further particulars till we meet.

Yours ever sincerely and affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

I think it probable that we may go to-morrow to Eden Farm, till Wednesday.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, August 3rd, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—We wish occasionally for accounts from you, both of your own health and of your daughters'. We are all well under this roof.

I am curious to know who is to be the Irish Secretary. If Mr. Yorke^a had not been a Secretary of State it might have suited him. I cannot conjecture the reason of appointing Lord Blandford to the Treasury. The vacancy was made by Wellesley,^b who is to go to

^a The Right Hon. Charles Yorke, second son of the Hon. Charles Yorke and Augusta Johnson ; born 1764 ; M.P. for Cambridgeshire ; appointed Secretary at War 1801 ; Home Secretary 1803 ; First Lord of the Admiralty 1810 ; married, 1790, Harriet Manningham ; died 1834.

^b The Hon. Henry Wellesley, sixth son of Garrett, first Earl of Mornington, and the Hon. Anne Hill ; born 1773 ; Lord of Treasury 1804 ; Secretary to Treasury 1808 ; appointed Ambassador to Spain 1810 ; to Vienna 1823 ; to Paris 1835 ; and again 1841 ; M.P. for Eye 1807 ; created, 1823, Lord Cowley ; married,

Madrid in the place of Frere,* who comes away in consequence of his quarrel with the Prince of the Peace. It would have been well to have made some steps towards a consolidation of the British and Irish Treasuries; but our old fellow-labourer Foster will not contribute to facilitate that notion.

I have very good accounts from Windsor of the good King. His health seems restored both in body and mind.

Though I had apparently some reason to feel resentment at the mode of my removal from the Post Office, and though that office was in many respects agreeable to me, I am bound in candour and in justice to acknowledge that the subsequent and the voluntary regards which have been shown to my situation are adequate to every wish that I could have reasonably formed, and make me quite independent, and also beneficial to those whom I may leave behind me; and all this without any direct communication. I will explain particulars hereafter, or when we meet; but I owe it to your long and firm friendship to say thus much in the meantime.

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

P.S. I think it not unlikely that the reconciliation negotiating between the King and the Prince of Wales

first, 1803, Lady Charlotte Cadogan; secondly, 1816, Lady Charlotte Cecil; died 1847.

* The Right Hon. John Hookham Frere, son of John Frere, M.P. for Norwich, and Jane Hookham; born 1760; appointed Under-Secretary of State 1799; Envoy to Lisbon 1800; to Madrid 1802 and 1808; M.P. for Westlooe 1798; married, 1816, Jemima Blake, Countess Dowager of Erroll; died 1846.

might be followed by the appointment of Lord Moira and Tierney to Ireland; for the present Nepean remains Secretary, and is going in a few days to Dublin.

Corry is to have 2000*l.* a-year for life. I understand that Mr. Yorke is to be brought back into office. In truth, something must be done during the recess towards strengthening the Administration, otherwise their situation will be very unpleasant on the opening of the session. A.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Aug. 16th, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—We accomplished our little excursion pleasantly and prosperously, and after having passed four days at Tunbridge, one at Lord Sheffield's, and one at the Speaker's. We found all our infantry here in high health and good looks. But we have weather which is not good either for man or beast; and I fear that the harvests will be very moderate, both in quality and quantity.

I am heartily glad, for Miss Beresford's sake, that you mean, when you leave Clifton, to settle at Dawlish. Sir Walter Farquhar speaks well of that climate for tender lungs. Perhaps you may have some call to London, and consequently to Eden Farm, before the winter commences; but if not, I will occasionally send such information as may interest you.

It is not improbable that Mr. Rose is at least as much

disgusted as you suspect. In fact, he is put aside, though with an honourable and lucrative office; and his old colleague has the fullest confidence. I have always lived on the same cordial and friendly terms with the latter, who was not so foolish as to quarrel with me because I did not hesitate to declare to all the world that the breaking up of the old Ministry, on the pretext of the Catholic question, was *at least* an act of folly and an absurdity. I think so still, and perhaps I think worse of it even than ever; and I shall always think that Mr. Pitt's reserves towards me in that business were neither just nor honourable in respect to one with whom he was living, and had long lived, in a system of unbounded confidence. But whether I were right or wrong in that business, is now a matter of small moment, and an old history. And be all that as it may, our old friend Rose should have shown the same kindness to me which I showed to him and to his sons in many essential instances, and which kindness I felt, and still feel, for them all. In my view of the business, I have cordially forgiven them all; in their view of the business, if they still feel that they ought to stand aloof, they only prove to me that none are so unrelenting as those who feel that they are wrong. I wish that you may have some occasion to express these sentiments for me.

I have frequent and authentic accounts from Windsor, and on the whole they are perfectly good, though *sometimes* there is a return of the hurried manner, which gives alarm and uneasiness; but it is only in family scenes, and time and quiet may get the better of it.

The reconciliation with the Prince has not yet been accomplished.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Sept. 4th, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—The enclosed, which you can at any time return, is a decisive, if not satisfactory, answer to you.*

I cannot write more this morning. We are preparing to receive the whole Sullivan colony for a couple of days; and I must ride out with Louisa and Morton; and I must drive the sociable with Lady Auckland, Catherine, and Caroline; and I am also attending to two fields of barley and oats, and to fifteen acres of a second crop of hay; and I am picking and packing peaches and nectarines for presents, as they are much too abundant for our consumption, even with the aid of the wasps, whom I conceive to be more redoubtable invaders than the Boulogne boats.

If it would be an acceptable attention, I would send the kindest compliments of this colony to the family with which you are, and for which I retain an unabated

* The case referred to was the county Leitrim Election, Lord Clements, the Member, becoming, during the recess, Earl of Leitrim. Mr. Beresford's grandson, Colonel Clements, succeeded him next session.

affection and friendship, though I have some little reason to complain of their distance, in all senses and possible explanations of that word. But I am growing too old, and am at the same time too great an economist of good humour and of happiness to harbour long animosities, or to suffer resentments to fester in my soul.

I wish in the meantime that Mr. Rose would use his influence with Wyatt to proceed forthwith in the pullings down and buildings up of Palace Yard. The Speaker and I have laboured in vain to move him. It is really vexatious.

We rejoice in the progress of your daughter.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Cuffnells, 9th Sept., 1804.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—I received your letter, with enclosure, which is certainly decisive, and although not very satisfactory to me, yet certainly I believe, from a perusal of the Statutes, is too well founded. It will be the cause of some trouble and expense; but that cannot be helped. I suppose the omission of the case will be rectified next session.

I have been here since Monday last. I have not seen Rose looking so well these three years as he does at present, notwithstanding that he, like my poor old friend

John Robinson, continues to write from six in the morning until near four in the afternoon, about something or nothing. Yesterday was his day of election of magistrate at Christ Church, and I accompanied him first to his cottage, and then to his dinner there, which was sumptuous, and seemed to please the guests. I did not get home till ten o'clock.

I thought the best way of impressing Rose with your feelings about him and his family was to read to him as much of your letter as related to them ; and I convey to you, as nearly as I can, in his own words, what he said on the instant. He fixed upon the words animosities and resentments, and after solemnly assuring me that no such sensation had ever entered his breast, he said, " You may say to Lord Auckland, that not having a feeling of animosity to any human being (not even against his neighbour at Dulwich), I can have none in his case. I have lately given unequivocal evidence of an opposite feeling with respect to his family. Politics alone never kept me at a distance from anyone in private society. I had lived a good while in habits of affectionate friendship with Lord Auckland, and I had availed myself of frequent opportunities of proving its sincerity on my part ; but when his Lordship, from whatever motive, took the line he did in the House of Lords, which gave (I will fairly own I thought) just offence to Mr. Pitt, finding the latter decided to make it a ground of separation, I found it would be impossible for him and me to meet comfortably ; and thinking it better not to meet coldly, after our past intercourse, I was induced to write to him and say so ; but as to resentment, I desire to

disdain it as utterly abhorrent to my mind. There has been no time in which this family has not wished to hear good accounts of his." These were Rose's words, as nearly as I could retain them; I am sure I have not mistaken his meaning. Upon the whole, it is my decided opinion, after a long conversation, that it is his wish to live well with you, which is best done by avoiding all explanation.

Believe me yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Oct. 4th, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I am glad to find that you, and so many of those who are dear to you, are assembling propitiously at Dawlish. It is a good plan in point of health and of comfort; and if I could not be at this place, my next object would be to pass the winter months on our south-west coast.

I am not surprised by the account which you give of the fermentations in the Irish Cabinet. Mr. Pitt was wretchedly advised as to that and other parts of his ministerial arrangements. I understand that Nepean* is to move, if the appointment can be made the means

* The Right Hon. Sir Evan Nepean, second son of Nicholas Nepean and Margaret Jones; appointed Secretary of the Admiralty 1795, till 1804; Chief Secretary of Ireland 1804; Lord of the Admiralty 1805; Governor of Bombay 1812 to 1818; M.P. for Queenborough 1796; for Bridport 1802, 1806, and 1807; married Mary Skinner; died 1822.

of acquiring any Parliamentary strength. It had been played before the eyes of Tierney, but he will not separate himself from the Prince.

The invasion is no longer talked of; but a Spanish war seems to be expected, and the price of stock falls, and the price of bread rises.

The conversation of the week has turned much on the interceptions which Bonaparte has had the bad taste to publish. He would have been better advised, if he had said that he would not do so dishonourable an act as that of giving publicity to confidential correspondences: it would have been a severe epigram on us.

Mr. H. Wellesley's letter must be very unpleasant to him, to his brother, to Mr. Addington, and to Mr. Pitt. He has no copy, but is positive that the French translation has been unfair; still, it informs the world that Lord Wellesley wishes to retain the Government, when he is threatening to quit it. The expression about Mr. Addington is harsh, and that about Mr. Pitt is not less so; for in the French expression it says that Mr. Pitt's conduct in Parliament had been the conduct of an attorney (*un avocat*). The Directors, too, are called obstinate fools. Some of the other letters are very unguarded and indiscreet; and there is one letter which is too bad to be republished in England, and which is abominably libellous, respecting the Duke of York and Greenwood.

I am amused by the letters of the two Miss ——, and am almost sorry for their sakes that the invasion is postponed. They had made up their minds to bear with patience and fortitude all the insults and results which they suppose to be the unavoidable consequences

of the landing of French soldiery; and they wrote about it with notes of interjection and admiration.

The Princess of Wales's accident has been much exaggerated. We had a note from her Lady in Waiting to-night: a nail of one of her fingers was torn off; but she has no fever and little pain.

I know nothing new from Weymouth.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever yours,

AUCKLAND.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Oct. 29th, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I begin to wish for a line respecting you and yours. The winter makes its approach with a mild and gentle voice, and the atmosphere at Dawlish must be less cold even than it is here. We are all well under this roof, after the unexampled event of a week's absence from home. We passed the whole of last week with the Hobarts, at Roehampton, and saw many people who ought to know what is going forward in the world; but in truth, I learnt little that is worth repeating to you.

It is expected that there will be a reconciliation with the Prince as soon as the King shall have returned to Windsor. I wish that there may; but I think it more probable that there will be only a meeting, which may be followed by other meetings; but that, in other respects, matters will remain between the parties much as at present.

Messrs. Erskine, Tierney, Sheridan, and Vansittart^{*} dined with Mr. Addington in the Park on Thursday last, and sat till three o'clock in the morning. Tierney dined with us on the Wednesday, and was pleasant and cheerful. He told us that he should go next week to Brighton for two months. The secret history is, that he is looking to the Irish Secretaryship, if the reconciliation with the Prince should be such as to allow it. Some intimation has also been given to Vansittart that the said office may be proposed to him: but I beg that you will not mention this further.

All accounts now agree that the King's health has been greatly improved at Weymouth. It is, however, impossible not to feel a little anxious for the effect of the winter months and of the Windsor life.

The specie in the three Spanish ships is about a million sterling. Portugal will be drawn with Spain into the vortex of that war. Those two poor countries are between the hammer and the anvil.

I know nothing of the state of parties, nor of the probable course of the Parliamentary campaign.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever most sincerely
yours,

AUCKLAND.

^{*} The Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart, second son of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, and Amelia Morse; born 1766; M.P. for Hastings 1796; for Old Sarum 1802; again 1806 and 1807; for Harwich 1812, 1818, 1820; appointed Secretary to the Treasury 1801; appointed Secretary to Ireland 1805; again Secretary of the Treasury 1806; Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1812 to 1823; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster 1823; created Lord Bexley 1823; married, 1806, the Hon. Catherine Eden; died 1851.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Nov. 12th, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—We wish to have a line from you, with a better account of Mrs. Milner. Give our love to the other ladies of your party. All well here.

I agree with you that Ireland is tending fast and infallibly to a national bankruptcy ; the only remedy would be a consolidation of the Treasury, Debt, Revenues, &c., with Great Britain, towards which I would before this time have made strong efforts if I had not been so totally separated as I am at present from Mr. Pitt.

Foster has disappointed me respecting the grievance and mischief of what is called the Irish Exchange ; I thought he was convinced at last of what I never doubted from the first—that your Bank Directors have caused a depreciation by an interested and extravagant issue of paper ; at any rate, we ought to have compelled them to contract gradually, but speedily, to at least one-half of their present quantity.

The Catholic question is rising up in the horizon like a black and threatening cloud. Lord Fingal^a dined last Saturday se'nnight with Nepean, and must have drank the Irish Chancellor's^b health.

^a Arthur Plunkett, eighth Earl of Fingal, son of Arthur, seventh Earl, and Henrietta Woolascot ; born 1759 ; succeeded 1793 ; married Frances Donelan 1785 ; died 1836. A Roman Catholic peer, and generally Chairman of the Catholic Association meetings.

^b John Mitford, Lord Redesdale, second son of John Mitford

Poor Spain is in a complication of calamities—earthquakes, plague, famine, rebellion, French oppression, and the immediate prospect of a war with England. The plague has extended itself to almost all the towns on the Spanish coast, and even to Madrid. Our last accounts from Gibraltar are somewhat more comfortable: many had recovered, and the deaths were decreasing.

Yours ever,

AUCKLAND.

MR. BERESFORD TO LORD AUCKLAND.

Dawlish, 20th Nov., 1804.

MY DEAR AUCKLAND,—Let me know what you hear of changes in Ireland; my late accounts from thence are very strange. One would really imagine that it was the country divided against itself, and that it could not stand; and firmly do I believe, that unless an efficient Government, and a very different system from that which has been pursued, is very speedily adopted in that country, it must be undone.

A Governor of the best disposition, but without energy or respectability as a governor; a Secretary without talent or ability to get through business, and, to and Philadelphia Reveley; born 1748; appointed Solicitor-General 1793; Attorney-General 1800; elected Speaker of the House of Commons 1801, in succession to Mr. Addington appointed Prime Minister; succeeded, 1802, Lord Clare as Lord Chancellor of Ireland; resigned 1806; M.P. for Beer Alston from 1780 till 1802; created, 1802, Baron Redesdale; married, 1803, Lady Frances Perceval, daughter of John, second Earl of Egmont; died 1830.

mend the matter, no unity between them, nay, scarcely communication ; the Chief and Under-Secretary at daggers drawn ; and the latter and his brother Secretary in the War Department in open hostility ; Mr. Foster rigidly enforcing the control given to the Board of Treasury by the Act of 1795, and giving full operation to every clause of that Act, resisting the issue of money on the Lord-Lieutenant's authority, except in strict conformity to the Act, and holding no terms with the Castle, but lording it over them in high style, and over every Board in the kingdom ; the Catholics meeting and determining to bring forward their claims by petition to Parliament, independent of Government in either kingdom, who are, I believe, for the most part ignorant of their proceedings. The Catholic agents which Government had among them dare not now take a part, and the body are again in the hands of the *Separatists*, who wish to push them forward under the auspices of Opposition, totally shaking off Mr. Pitt, Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh, &c., &c. At their last meeting some attempts were made, but without the participation of Government, to induce them still to look to Mr. Pitt and keep them quiet ; but the answer was, that they would not, unless Mr. Pitt marked his sincerity to and respect for them by in the first instance dismissing the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chancellor ; so that you see whatever they get they will attribute to their own strength and force, and no good consequence or union will result from any concessions. The mercantile men of all persuasions are highly out of humour with the palpable sufferings of the metropolis from the Union, their own

difficulties from want of confidence, the unsettled state of paper credit, and the want of silver coin, with the pressure made on them for the purposes of revenue, and a very harsh mode of enforcing laws ;—all these cause a murmur truly alarming.

Among those who were in the habit of living by the patronage of Government—I mean the whole body of official men—there has been, and there is, so much rough and ill-timed harshness dealt out, that even they are not at this time too well disposed, and the patronage of Government being almost annihilated, hopes are cut off.

The conduct towards the several Boards has been so wantonly insulting that it is unaccountable. Can it be imagined that noblemen and men of talents and abilities, men who have been high in the executive business of the country, will tamely and quietly submit to be kicked, overturned, and trampled upon, and that with the highest insult, by the new authorities that have been set up ? and the injudicious choice of the persons appointed for these purposes makes the insult more felt and galling.

Were I to detail to you what I hear of that department to which I once belonged, you would think that they wanted to overturn everything ; and it is unfortunate that no one good effect has yet been produced by their measures—the only effect has been great additional expense and confusion in every department.

Such is the state of our country, and I shall not be surprised, from what has been done and what is about to be done, and considering the temper and disposition

of certain people, if some personal mischief should ensue.

Yours ever,

J. B.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, 20th Nov., 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I have received yours of the 16th, and rejoice in the good accounts of your daughter and granddaughter. Your old friend Lord Liverpool often walks into my library for half an hour, and is cheerful and communicative, and better in health and the use of his limbs than he was three years ago.

He sometimes drives as far as Lord Hawkesbury's, which is ten miles distant from Addiscombe.

What you mention respecting your Irish Minister* is consonant to what I hear from other quarters, and somewhat surprises me. I always supposed that he would be haughty and headstrong in his councils and measures, but I conceived that he would be efficient generally, and often right. As far as I have yet seen, he is acting by fits and starts, to the annoyance of individuals, and without any systematic line of measures for the purposes either of national economy or of public credit. I am not sorry that he is quarrelling with the Irish Bank, because I have satisfied myself that it will be absolutely necessary to compel the Directors to contract their issue of paper, which would have been difficult if Foster

* Mr. Foster.

had continued to ascribe the depreciation to the Union, &c.

The accounts from Windsor continue perfectly good, but His Majesty's love of exercise is carried to an extreme perfectly alarming at his age, and after the attacks to which he has been subject. On Saturday last he rode fifty-eight miles, and then came home nineteen miles in a chaise, being seventy-seven passed in exercise, and in the extremes of hot and cold, at sixty-five years of age.

I have reason to believe that what passed lately may rather be called "a resuming of access," than a "reconciliation;" and that the appointments which some individuals were desirous of grounding on the interview are not likely to take place.

There are reports that the meeting of Parliament will be postponed till after the birthday. It is very indifferent to me personally, for I certainly shall not see the inside of the House of Lords before the middle of February. It seems the general impression that the brewers and distillers have been precipitate and unreasonable in the rise of prices for malt-liquor and spirits, and that they will be compelled to recede.

I wish that you were here to help to consume my grapes; I never knew them finer, either here or in France; and they will continue good and abundant for some time longer.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

P.S.—I told you at the time, that when I quitted the Post Office it was signified to me that His Majesty had approved of my having an income equivalent to what I was losing; and that I had written, and had received an answer gracious on that point, and very confidential on another point. I must now do Mr. Pitt the justice to say that he has completed that business in a way that places me independent of political chances and changes, and is also more beneficial to my family. It is, however, Mr. Long, and not our old friend George Rose, who has made to me all the communications on these points, and who has shown a very friendly disposition. I have been, and am, passive in all these matters; for I cannot reconcile myself to some circumstances in Mr. Pitt's conduct towards me, although I have that sort of affection for him which is maintained by recollections of a long intimacy.

All well here. I much fear that the Archbishop* is going.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever yours,

AUCKLAND.

* John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, originally tutor in the family of the Duke of Marlborough; Dean of Canterbury 1770; consecrated Bishop of Bangor 1775; translated Archbishop of Canterbury 1783; married, 1770, Catherine Eden, daughter of Sir Robert Eden; died 1805.

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. BERESFORD.

Eden Farm, Dec. 1st, 1804.

MY DEAR BERESFORD,—I think I mentioned to you that the good Archbishop of Canterbury is in a declining state: so far as I can judge from observation, and from a conference with his physician, the vital powers are become irreparably too weak for their functions; in which case his life may be prolonged a few days or weeks, more or less, by cordials and stimulants, but the last scene cannot be far off. In the meantime, he has occasional cheerfulness, and is without pain. The Bishops of Lincoln^a and Norwich^b are talked of for the eventual succession: and it is supposed that Mr. Pitt will recommend the former, and that the King wishes for the latter.

I know nothing of Lord Harrowby's^c accident beyond what the newspapers state, but I am very sorry for Lady Harrowby, to whom it will be a terrible shock. I think it likely, at all events, that Lord Harrowby will

^a George Pretymann, Bishop of Lincoln, tutor to Mr. Pitt at Cambridge, Dean of St. Paul's; consecrated Bishop of Lincoln 1787; translated, 1820, to Winchester; assumed the name of Tomline; died 1827.

^b Dr. Manners Sutton.

^c Dudley Ryder, first Earl of Harrowby, son of Nathaniel, first Lord, and Elizabeth Terrick; born 1762; appointed Commissioner of India Board and Vice-President of the Board of Trade 1790; Treasurer of the Navy 1800; Secretary of State 1804; President of the Board of Control 1809; Lord President 1812; 1803, succeeded as Baron; created Earl 1809; M.P. for Tiverton; married, 1795, Lady Susan Gower, daughter of Granville, first Marquis of Stafford; died 1847.

not continue in his office; but I have not a guess as to the successor.

The Royal reconciliation is coming to a short end. The Prince has written two very angry letters to the Chancellor, respecting the proposed arrangements which are making by the King for the removal of the Princess Charlotte to Windsor, and for her new establishment. I understand that the King and his Ministers have decided to carry the plan into effect; and Bishop Fisher,* who is to be the preceptor, is arrived at Windsor. It is not yet known who is to be the governess: some people talk of your friend Lady Townshend, who, though an excellent woman, does not seem to me to be peculiarly suited to such an undertaking; nor can I conceive that she would so much separate herself from Lord Townshend.

I am only fearful that, between the two very nervous points of family disagreements and the approaching discussion of the Catholic question, the King's mind may be again unhinged.

We have most gloomy weather. The fogs are so thick that they seem quite palpable. But the people of London are made very happy, and are beyond all example occupied by a childish enthusiasm respecting the young Roscius.

Our love to Miss Beresford.

Yours ever most sincerely,

AUCKLAND.

* John Fisher, son of the Vicar of Teignmouth, in Devon, Archdeacon of Exeter; consecrated Bishop of Exeter 1803; translated to Salisbury 1807; died 1825.

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